

PLUTARCH's LIVES,

Abridged from the

ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illustrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embellished with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the FOURTH.

Containing the LIVES of

CAIUS MARIUS,
LYSANDER,
SYLLA,

|| CIMON,
|| LUCULLUS, and
|| NICIAS.

L O N D O N:

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PLUTARCHUS

ORIGENES

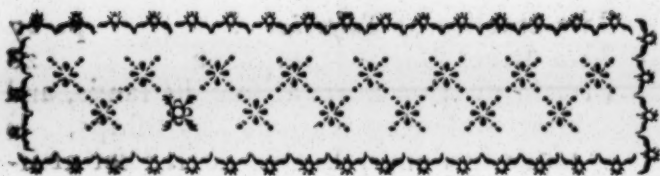
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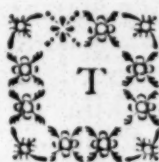
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CAIUS MARIUS.



HIS great general was born of obscure and indigent parents, who supported themselves by their daily labour. He first lived in *Cirraetion*, a village in the territory of *Arpinum*, where his manner of life was rustic and unpolished; but resembled the ancient Roman severity. He first served under *Scipio Africanus* at the siege of *Numantia*, where he distinguished himself by his courage; and by the chearfulness with which he complied with *Scipio's* reformation of the army, which had been almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is also said, that he encountered and vanquished

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quished an enemy in the general's sight, and that *Scipio* shewed him a particular respect: that great man being once at supper with several officers, the conversation happened to turn on the great commanders then living, one of the company, either to make his court to him, or in simple sincerity, asked *Scipio*, Where the *Romans* would find another general when he was dead. When *Scipio* clapping *Marius*, who sat next him, on the shoulder, cried, *Perhaps this will be the man.*

Fired with this speech, *Marius* immediately applied himself to public affairs, and by the assistance of *Cæcilius Metellus*, obtained the post of tribune of the people. While in this office, he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tending to lessen the authority of the patricians, was opposed by *Cotta* the consul, who persuaded the senate to declare against it. When *Marius* entering the senate, instead of behaving with the timidity of a young man just advanced to office, threatened *Cotta* to commit him to prison, and behaved with such resolution, that the senate was obliged to repeal the decree; and then *Marius* proceeding in triumph to the Forum, had his law confirmed in an assembly of the people. He was now esteemed a man of undaunted courage and resolution, and a vigorous opposer of the senate in favour of the commons: but he soon destroyed the opinion of his partiality to the plebeians, by his strenuously opposing a proposal for making a law concerning the distribution
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of corn, and carrying it against the people ; by which he became equally honoured by the wife of both parties, for gratifying neither contrary to the interest of the public.

The next year, after much opposition, he was chosen prætor, and at the expiration of that office, the province of the farther *Spain* fell to his lot, which he is said to have cleared of robbers. At his return to *Rome*, he was very desirous of obtaining a share in the administration, though he had neither riches nor eloquence, the two grand instruments by which the leading men then governed the people : but the citizens pleased with his high spirit, his indefatigable industry, and abstemious manner of life, soon advanced him to the highest offices, by which means he acquired great wealth and power. He at this time gave a signal proof of his patience ; for having great tumours in his legs, he put himself into the hands of a surgeon, and without being tied, stretched out one of his legs, and silently without changing countenance, endured in the operation most exquisite torments, neither shrinking nor complaining ; but on the surgeon's preparing to cut the other leg, he would not suffer him ; observing that the cure was not worth the pain.

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and reputation of *Metellus*: but imagining that fortune had placed him on a conspicuous theatre, where he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself by great exploits, he neither from fear declined the most dangerous service, nor from pride the most servile. His equals he surpassed in counsel and conduct, and the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, by which he entirely gained their affections; for by his voluntarily sharing in their labour, he seemed to ease and refresh them: thus their service had no longer the appearance of constraint, but of choice and liberty: for the soldiers are more fond of the commander who will assist them in their work, than of him who encourages them in idleness.

Thus *Marius* at once filled both *Africa* and *Rome* with his fame; for many in the army wrote to their friends, that they would never see an end of the war till *Marius* was consul and had the chief command. This gave *Metellus* great uneasiness, so that when *Marius* solicited him to give him leave to go to *Rome*, he continually eluded granting his request with new pretences. At last, when there were only twelve days before the election, he dismissed him.

Marius having a favourable wind, arrived in time at *Rome*, where his presence gave great pleasure to the people, and being brought into the assembly by one of the tribunes, he sued for the consulship, at the same time

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time inveighing against *Metellus*, promised either to kill *Jugurtha*, or to take him alive.

Marius was now elected consul with great applause, on which he immediately levied soldiers contrary to law, by enlisting several slaves, and some of the poorest of the people; though former commanders had bestowed arms only on men of property. He also offended the patricians by the arrogance of his speeches; for he publicly declared, that he took the consulship as a prey from the wealthy and noble citizens; and gloried in the wounds he received in the service of his country, not in the monuments of the dead, and the statues of his ancestors.

On his return to *Africa*, *Metellus* was unable to conceal his resentment, that when he had in a manner finished the war, a man who was grown great by his ingratitude to him, should deprive him both of his victory and the honour of a triumph; and being unwilling to see him, retired, while *Rutulius*, his lieutenant, surrendered up the army to *Marius*. But, before the end of the war, *Sylla* retaliated upon *Marius* his injustice to *Metellus*, by depriving him of the honour of taking *Jugurtha* prisoner.

That prince, after having lost all his dominions, applied to his father-in-law *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, as his last refuge; and the shame of seeing one so nearly allied to him, rather than his affection, induced the king to grant him, in appearance, his protection. But while *Bocchus*, in his letters,

openly solicited *Marius* in his behalf, declaring that he was resolved not to deliver him up: he sent for *Lucius Sylla*, questor to *Marius*, who had conferred some obligation on him. *Sylla*, relying on his word, came; but the treacherous king was now undetermined, and was for several days at a loss whether he should deliver up *Jugurtha*, or retain *Sylla*: but at length he fixed upon his former treachery, and delivered up his son-in-law to *Sylla*. This afterwards gave rise to that implacable animosity which almost ruined the *Roman* empire. *Sylla* was so pleased with the honour, that he caused a seal to be engraved, on which was represented, *Bocchus* delivering *Jugurtha* into his hands; and with it sealed all his letters. By this means he extremely provoked *Marius*, who was too ambitious to suffer any one to have a share in the glory he acquired. However, *Marius's* enemies now ascribed the most considerable action of the war to *Metellus*, and the honour of concluding it to *Sylla*.

But all this envy and detraction was soon forced to subside by the report of the imminent danger with which *Italy* was menaced from the north. For scarcely had the report of *Jugurtha's* captivity reached *Rome*, when news was brought of the invasion of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri* *, who amounted to 300,000 fighting men, besides a far greater number of women and children, who came

* These came from the north of *Germany*. in

in search of a country where they might settle and inhabit. This vast body advanced with the irresistible violence of a devouring flame. Many *Roman* armies, commanded by officers of great reputation, who had the care of *Transalpine Gaul* committed to their charge, were defeated, or fled ignominiously before them. The faint resistance they had every where met with, it was said, had determined them to march towards *Rome*; and that being laden with plunder, they resolved to settle no where till they had razed that city, and ravaged all *Italy*.

Alarmed at this news, the *Romans* immediately sent for *Marius* to be their commander in that war, and nominated him a second time consul. He brought with him his legions from *Africa*, and entered *Rome* in triumph, shewing *Jugurtha* a prisoner; a sight highly agreeable to the people, who had no hope of seeing an end put to the war while he lived: so united in him was valour with arts and stratagems, and so fertile was his genius in resources: he being capable of accommodating himself to every turn of fortune. It is said, that when he was led in triumph, he fell distracted; and that, after that ceremony was over, he was thrown into prison, where all being eager to strip him, some tore his robe in pulling it off, and others catching at his pendants, tore off the tips of his ears. After this they cast him naked and full of horror into a deep dungeon, where he struggled for six days with the pangs
of

of hunger, and to the last moment seemed fond of life*. In this triumph was carried 3007 pounds of gold, 5775 of silver bullion, and 17,028 drachmas in silver coin.

Marius kept his soldiers in continual exercise, using them to labour and fatigue; to long and tedious marches, in which every man carried his own baggage. But the course of the Barbarians changing like a sudden ebb of the tide, they turned off, and instead of marching into *Italy*, invaded *Spain*, which gave *Marius* time to confirm the courage of his troops, and to inure them to the strictest discipline. In this manner his second consulship expired; when the Barbarians being expected in the spring, and the people being unwilling to trust their fortunes under the conduct of any other general but him, he was again elected, and his third consulship expired without their obtaining a sight of the Barbarians. The election again coming on, and several eminent persons being candidates for the consulship, he left the command of the army to *Manius Aquilius*, and

* Though this unhappy prince was guilty of very great crimes, the *Romans* had certainly no right to be his executioners, much less could they have any just pretence for violating, in their treatment of him, all the laws of humanity, and rendering his death beyond conception terrible. In this instance the *Romans* acted like the most savage Barbarians.

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hasted to *Rome*, where he gained over to his interest *Lucius Saturninus*, who had more authority with the people than any other of the tribunes. *Saturninus*, in a set speech, advised them to chuse *Marius* consul; but he seeming to decline the office, *Saturninus* called him traitor to his country, for refusing to take the command in a time of such imminent danger. It was not difficult to discover that he had been employed by *Marius* to put this trick upon the people, yet they considering that the present juncture very much required a general of his capacity, voted him a fourth time consul, and made *Catulus Lutatius* his colleague, who was a person much esteemed by the nobility, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius hearing of the enemy's approach, passed the * *Alps* with the utmost expedition, and pitched his camp by the river *Rhone*, where he took care to furnish himself with a plentiful supply of provisions, lest the want of necessaries should oblige him to fight at a disadvantage. The mouth of the *Rhone* being then so choak'd up with sand, lest there by the ebbing tides, that ships could not enter it without much difficulty, he marched thither, and employed the troops in digging a deep and wide trench from the sea, capable

* The reader may see a particular description of these stupendous mountains in Mr. *Addison's Travels*, inserted in *The World displayed*, vol. xix. p. 137—162.

of

of receiving ships of considerable burden, into which he turned a part of the river.

The enemy dividing into two bodies, the *Cimbri* were appointed to march the upper way through *Noricum*, to force the passes there, which were guarded by *Catulus*, while the *Teutones* and *Ambrones* proceeded through *Liguria* along the sea-coast against *Marius*, and making long marches, soon presented to his view an incredible number of enemies, who appeared terrible in their aspect, and whose warlike shouts differed from those of all other men. These encamping on the plain, spread themselves over a vast extent of ground, and challenged the consul to battle. But, unmoved by their boasts and menaces, he restrained his soldiers within their trenches, sharply reproving those who were too eager to engage. That the common soldiers might be accustomed to their appearance, and be acquainted with their arms, and their way of using them, he placed them by turns on the bulwarks; and thus what at first seemed terrible, by often viewing became familiar; for he justly thought that novelty imposes on the imagination, and adds fictitious terrors to objects that are really formidable; and that familiarity, on the contrary, lessens our fear of what is actually most dreadful. Thus the apprehensions of the soldiers daily diminishing, their indignation was rous'd, and their courage inflamed, on their hearing the insolent threats of the Barbarians, who not only ravaged all the country, but threatened to

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storm their trenches. The soldiers now loudly complained that he kept them confined like women, and hindered them from shewing themselves men, by encountering the enemy. *Marius* pleased at hearing this, gently appeased them, by observing, that he did not distrust their valour, but must follow the directions of an oracle, that pointed out to him the time and place that were to secure the victory.

Mean while the Barbarians ventured to attack his camp; but being received with showers of darts, and losing many of their men, they resolved to advance forward, hoping to pass the *Alps* without opposition. They therefore marched by the *Roman* camp, to whom the greatness of their numbers appeared in a clearer light than it had done before; for it is said, that though they passed by without intermission, they were six days in marching by the camp, and came so near the *Romans*, that some of them called out, asking if they had any messages to their wives; for they should be shortly with them?

All the Barbarians had no sooner passed by, than *Marius* decamped, and following them leisurely, halted when they halted, choosing convenient places for his camp, which he strongly fortified. Thus they marched till they reached *Aquæ Sextiæ**, at

* Now the city of *Aix la Chapelle*: Of which the reader may see a concise description in *The World display'd*, vol. xix. p. 49.

a small distance from the *Alps*, where *Marius* chose a place of considerable strength for his camp; but there being a scarcity of water; some of his men seemed dissatisfied at his chusing a spot where they were in danger of perishing with thirst; on which he pointed to a river * that ran near the enemy's camp, crying, "There you may have water, but "you must purchase it at the expence of "your blood." While they were fortifying their camp, the servants belonging to the army wanting water both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crowds towards the river, some armed with hatchets, some with axes, and others with javelins and swords, and each carried a pitcher, all being resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These were at first encountered only by a small part of the enemy; for it was then about dinner-time, when they were sitting at table, and as the country abounded with hot springs, others were bathing. This afforded the *Romans* an opportunity of surprising many of them, who, delighted with the baths, thought only of indulging themselves. But their exclamations giving the alarm, drew those who were near to their assistance. *Marius* could no longer restrain the impatience of the soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the *Ambrones*, who amounted to above 30,000, and were the best of the enemies troops, were already drawn

* Now the river *Arc*.

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up, and advanced striking on their armour by regular intervals, and moving all together, as to a tune, continually repeated their own name, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* either to inspire each other with courage, or to intimidate their enemies. The *Ligurians* were the first troops in *Marius's* army that charged; these hearing the enemy shout the word *Ambrones*, echoed back the same word, which was their own ancient name; and the acclamation being thus returned from one army to the other before they joined, they strove to exceed each other in the loudness of their shouts.

The *Ambrones* having the river to pass, could not cross it without breaking their ranks, and before they could form again, the *Ligurians* began the charge. At the same time the *Romans* hastened to support them, and rushing upon the enemy from the higher grounds, soon threw them into disorder. The river became filled with the blood and the dead bodies of the Barbarians: those who got safe over, not daring to make head, were slain by the *Romans* as they fled to their camp and their carriages. Here a new kind of enemies presented themselves against both sides: for the women meeting them with swords and axes, with a hideous cry fell on those who fled, as well as on those that pursued, attacking the former as traitors, and the others as enemies; and mixing with the soldiers, endeavoured to snatch the shields and

swords of the *Romans*, fighting with undaunted resolution till they expired *.

Having thus put the greatest part of the *Ambrones* to the sword, the *Romans* retired; for it began to grow dark. But the camp did not now, as usual, resound with the songs of victory, nor had they rejoicings or mutual entertainments in their tents; sleep itself fled fr m them, and they were in the greatest uneasiness and perplexity: for their camp was unfortified, and there still remained unconquered many myriads of the Barbarians. Those *Ambrones* who had escaped, filled the air with hideous outcries, attended with threats and lamentations, which resounding through the neighbouring mountains, struck the hearts of the *Romans* with terror, and *Marius* himself was terrified at the apprehensions of a tumultuous night engagement.

These fears were however groundless; for the Barbarians made no motions either that night, or the following day. Mean while *Marius* knowing that beyond the enemy's camp were some cliffs and rocks covered with wood, he sent *Claudius Marcellus* with 3000 men to lie there in ambuscade, and to fall on the enemy's rear as soon as the fight began. The rest of his troops he ordered to sup early and take their rest, and the next morning, at break of day, he drew them up before the camp, and commanded the horie

* This victory was obtained by *Marius* in the 102d year before the birth of Christ.

to march into the plain. *Marius* then ordered the rest of his troops to wait for the enemy on the rising ground, and as soon as they came within their reach, to throw their darts, and then joining their shields, to attack them sword in hand; for he well knew that the steepness of the ascent would render the enemy's footing unsteady, and abate the force of their blows. The *Teutones* perceiving the *Romans* thus drawn up, could not contain themselves, and began to mount the ascent; but met with a vigorous opposition; for the *Romans* stopping them short as they were ascending the hill, forced them back into the plain, where the foremost battalions began to form again; but the rear was in the utmost confusion. At this critical minute, *Marcellus* hearing the fight begun, fell with loud shouts on the enemy's rear, and pushed them with such vigour, that he drove them on the front, so that the whole army was thrown into disorder; and the Barbarians being assaulted at once both in front and rear, and unable to make head against both, were broken and put to flight: when the *Romans* pursuing them, killed and took prisoners above 100,000, and made themselves masters of their tents, baggage, and carriages. It is said, that after this battle, the *Maffilians* made enclosures for their vineyards with the bones of the slain, and that the soil being enriched by the moisture of the putrid bodies, produced the following year a prodigious crop.

Marius chose the richest of the arms taken from the Barbarians to adorn his triumph, and caused the rest to be heaped on a large pile, in order to offer them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army encompassed the pile crowned with laurel, and *Marius* dressed in his purple robe, took a lighted torch, and lifting it up towards heaven, was going to set fire to it, when several of his friends were seen riding full speed towards the victorious army. Every one was struck with silent expectation: they soon came near, when alighting, they saluted *Marius*, and delivering him letters, informed him that he was a fifth time elected consul. This added an additional joy to the solemnity, which was expressed by martial acclamations, and while the officers were placing new crowns on the head of *Marius*, he completed the offering, by setting fire to the pile.

But unmixed prosperity cannot be long enjoyed by mortals: within a few days after this joyful solemnity, *Marius* was informed of an event, which threatened *Rome* with another dreadful tempest. *Catulus*, who had been sent to oppose the *Cimbri* in their march, and defend the passes of the *Alps*, thinking that this could not be done without making such detachments as would weaken his forces, marched back into *Italy*, and encamping behind the river *Athesis**, raised strong fortifi-

* Now called the river *Adige*.



*While MARIUS is offering to the Gods
 the Arms of the Conquered, he receives the news
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cations at the fords on both sides, forming a communication between them, by means of a bridge which he caused to be built over the river. The Barbarians came on with the utmost contempt of their enemies, and rather to shew their strength and courage, than from any necessity, exposed themselves naked to the falling snow, climbed up to the tops of the mountains, and placing their broad shields under their bodies, slid on the snow down the vast slippery descents. Having fixed their camp near the river, and surveyed the passage, they resolved to fill it up, and bringing trees, with heaps of earth, and massy pieces of rocks, endeavoured to dam up its course; but the heavy and bulky materials rolling down the stream, drove away the timbers which supported the bridge, which terrifying the greatest part of the *Roman* soldiers, they left their camp and fled: when *Catulus* being unable to prevail on his soldiers to stand to their colours, generously preferring the glory of his country to his own honour, commanded his standard to be taken up, and rode before them, that they might not seem to fly, but to follow their leader. The fortress on the other side of the river was taken by the Barbarians, who admiring the courage of the few *Romans* who were left there, generously dismissed them, on certain conditions, which they made them swear to perform.

The enemy now laying waste the country, which was left defenceless, *Marius* was sud-

denly sent for to *Rome*. On his arrival, the senate unanimously voted him a triumph; but he deferred it for the present, that he might afterwards enjoy it with the greater splendor, and hastened to *Catulus*, whose drooping spirits were raised by his presence. *Marius* then sent for his army out of *Gaul*, which had no sooner joined him, than he passed the *Po*, in order to keep the Barbarians out of that part of *Italy*, which lies to the south of that river. The *Cimbri* wondering that the *Teutones* were so long in coming, deferred the battle; they even punished with great severity those who brought the news of their being vanquished; and sent to desire *Marius* to grant them and their brethren a part of the country. *Marius* asked the ambassadors, Who were their brethren? when they replying, that they were the *Teutones*. He bid them give themselves no trouble about them, as he had already provided them lands which they should possess for ever. The ambassadors provoked at this raillery, said that the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones* too, when they came, would make them smart for it. But *Marius* soon made them sensible of their mistake, by ordering the kings of the *Teutones* to be brought in loaded with irons; for they had been taken as they were endeavouring to escape over the *Alps*.

Soon after *Boiorix*, king of the *Cimbri*, came to the *Roman* camp attended by a party of horse, and challenged *Marius* to appoint the time and place when they should deter-

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mine who should be masters of the country. *Marius* observed, that the *Romans* never consulted their enemies when to fight; but he would gratify the *Cimbri*; and appointed the third day after, on the plain near *Vercellæ*, which was convenient for the *Roman* horse, and afforded sufficient room for the enemy. *Marius* had under his command 32,000 men, who were placed in the two wings; and *Catulus* had under his command 20,300, with which he formed the centre. *Sylla*, who was present, says, that it being usual, when the front of an army is of great extent, for the wings to advance before the main body, *Marius* hoped to rout the enemy with his part of the army, and to secure the honour of the victory to himself, before *Catulus* could charge. The *Cimbrian* infantry had their flanks equal to their front, and formed a square body thirty furlongs every way. Their horse, which amounted to 15,000, made a very splendid appearance: their helmets were formed like the jaws and muzzles of all sorts of wild beasts, and on these were fixed plumes formed like wings of a prodigious height. They wore iron breast-plates, and their shields were very bright. Their offensive arms were two-edged darts, and large heavy swords. When the battle began, the prodigious dust that was raised covered both the armies, and *Marius* moving first to the charge, had the misfortune in this general obscurity to miss the enemy, and to wander up and down with his troops for some

some time without knowing where he was. Mean while *Catulus*, and the soldiers under his command, had the honour of bearing the chief brunt of the battle. But the heat and brightness of the sun, which shone full upon the faces of the *Cimbri*, was of the greatest disadvantage to them; for being bred in frozen climates, they were unable to support the excessive heat; their bodies ran down with sweat; they panted for breath, and were obliged to shade their faces with their shields; for the battle was fought about the third of *August*. On the other hand, the dust hiding the prodigious number of the enemy, served to keep up the courage of the *Romans*. The greatest part of the *Cimbri* were slain, particularly those most distinguished by their bravery; and the rest being put to flight, were pursued by the *Romans* to their camp, where they were witnesses of the most astonishing acts of desperation; the women standing in mourning by their carriages slew the fugitives, some their fathers, some their husbands, and others their brothers; and after strangling their children with their own hands, killed themselves; and it is said, that one of them was seen hanging on the top of a waggon, with her two children tied to her heels*. Yet notwithstanding this dreadful massacre

* Historians, in describing this fury and desperation of the *Cimbrians*, seem as if unsatisfied

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massacre of their own people, there were above 60,000 taken prisoners, and the number of the slain was said to be twice as many.

The common plunder was seized by *Marius's* soldiers; but the other spoils, as the ensigns and trumpets, were brought to the camp of *Catulus*, whence he inferred, that the victory was obtained by him and his army. Hence a warm dispute arising between his troops and those of *Marius*, it was referred to the ambassadors from *Parma* *, who happened to be present, and were conducted to the field of battle by the soldiers of *Catulus*, who proved that the dead were slain by their javelins, which were known by *Catulus's* name being cut in the wood. The glory of the action was however ascribed to *Marius*, on account of his former victory: and the populace styling him the third founder of *Rome*,

fied with what is really astonishing, they were resolved to run to the utmost lengths of improbability and absurdity: for *Plutarch* adds, that the men not finding trees to hang themselves upon, tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns, and others to the feet of oxen, and then pricking them on with goads, they made them drag and tear them to pieces.

* The reader may see a particular description of this city in Mr. *Misson's* and Mr. *Addison's Travels*. See *The World display'd*, vol. ix. p. 3, and 133.

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sacrificed to the gods and to *Marius*, and would have given him the honour of both the triumphs; but he being desirous to shew his moderation, triumph'd with *Catulus*.

Marius's fifth consulship being expired, he strove with greater eagerness for the sixth, than any one before him had ever shewn to obtain the first. He endeavoured to obtain the favour of the multitude by the most servile condescensions, and by practising the lowest arts. By this behaviour, he made all the nobility his enemies; none of whom he dreaded so much as *Metellus*, whom he had used so ungratefully, and who being truly virtuous, was naturally an enemy to those who practised on the people by corruption and flattery. *Marius* was therefore very desirous of getting rid of a competitor who gave him much trouble: for this purpose, he contracted an intimate acquaintance with *Glancias* and *Saturninus*, who were resolute and daring, and had all the indigent and seditious at their disposal. By their means he caused several laws to be enacted, and raised a powerful faction against *Metellus*, whom he caused to be set aside, and himself to be elected consul, with *Valerius Flaccus*, who was his tool, rather than his colleague.

So many consulships had never before been bestowed on one man, except on *Valerius Corvinus*; and it is said, that forty-five years passed between his first and last consulship: but *Marius*, after his first, was, by one tide of good fortune, successively carried thro'

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five more. He now contracted a great deal of hatred by his openly abetting the villainies of his friends, and particularly *Saturninus's* murdering *Nonius*, who was his competitor for the tribuneship. Afterwards *Saturninus* being made tribune of the people, proposed an Agrarian law, in which was a clause, that the senate should swear to confirm whatever should be enacted by the people, and that they would not oppose them in any thing. *Marius* seeming much offended at this article, declared openly to the senate, that he was resolved never to take such an oath; and he believed every wise man among them had formed the same resolution. This was merely a snare laid for *Metellus*, whom he knew to be a man of resolution; and, to use the words of *Pindar*, one who esteemed truth the spring of heroic virtue: he hoped that his own refusing to take the oath would induce him also to refuse it, which would infallibly expose him to the resentment of the people, and in this he was not mistaken. A few days after, the senate being summoned by *Saturninus* to appear in the Forum, and take the oath, *Marius* declared that he did not think himself bound by any declaration he might have made on so important an affair before he had considered it, and would therefore take the oath proposed, which he immediately did. At this the people were highly pleased, while the patricians were shocked at his double dealing; but being over-awed by the people, swore in their order,

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der, till it came to *Metellus*, who steadily refused to take the oath, and leaving the Forum, told his friends, *That to do ill was shameful; to do well, where it might be done with safety was common; but to do well in the face of danger was peculiar to a good man.* And *Saturninus* proposing that he should be banished, he immediately left the city.

Marius thought himself under such obligations to *Saturninus* for this last service, that in return, he suffered him to commit with impunity the most flagrant acts of injustice and cruelty: whence he stopped at no outrages or massacres; and his whole conduct seemed to threaten the total subversion of the government. Mean while *Marius* acted a double part, endeavouring at the same time to keep fair with the senators, and to please the people. But at length, the senate and equestrian order uniting, he sent a party of soldiers to the Forum, to suppress the sedition which he secretly favoured, but was now unable to protect. Upon which *Saturninus*, *Glaucias*, and their followers, fled to the Capitol, where they were besieged, and the pipes being cut, they were soon obliged to surrender for want of water. But though *Marius* promised them security in the name of the public, and used every art to save them, they no sooner came down to the Forum, than they were all slain.

Marius became now equally odious to the nobility and the commons, so that when the time approached for the election of censors,

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he declined suing for that office. Soon after, an edict being proposed for the recalling of *Metellus* from banishment, he warmly opposed it, till he found it was to no purpose : for the people eagerly passed the decree ; when being loth to see him, he set sail for *Capadocia*, under the pretence of performing some sacrifices, which he had vowed to offer to the goddess *Cybele* ; though his real motive was to endeavour to raise new commotions, by exciting some of the kings to take up arms against the *Romans*, in which case he hoped to be chosen general.

Marius after his return to *Rome*, had the mortification to see *Sylla* aggrandize himself at his expence, and encrease in popularity from the hatred the nobility bore him. Besides *Bocchus*, king of *Numidia*, on his being declared an ally of the *Romans*, dedicated in the Capitol some figures of *Victory*, adorned with trophies, and near them placed twenty golden statues representing the history of *Jugurtha*, and his being delivered up to *Sylla*. This filled *Marius* with the utmost rage ; he thought himself robbed by *Sylla* of the glory of his exploits, and resolved to pull down these monuments, but was strenuously opposed by *Sylla*.

A sedition was just upon the point of breaking out, when a stop was put to it by the war of the allies : for now the best peopled countries of all *Italy* conspired against *Rome*, and threatened the entire subversion of the *Roman* empire : their strength consisting not only in

the bravery of their troops, and the goodness of their arms; but in their being not inferior to the *Romans* in the valour and skill of their commanders. Though *Marius* was sixty-five years old, and had a disorder in his nerves which rendered him unfit for action, he underwent the fatigues of the war, though they were beyond his strength, merely upon a point of honour. He came off victor in a considerable engagement, in which were slain 6000 of the enemy, and never gave them any advantage over him; but all his enterprizes now seemed slow and dilatory; and the various turns of fortune, for which this war was remarkable, greatly encreased the power and reputation of *Sylla*, and in the same degree lessened that of *Marius*, who at length pretending that his bodily infirmities rendered him incapable of service, laid down the command.

The confederates were now defeated in many engagements, which putting an end to the war, several of the chief men of *Rome* made interest to command the army against *Mitbridates*: but *Sulpitius*, tribune of the people, to the surprize of every body, brought in *Marius*, and declared him proconsul and general in that war. The people were now divided; some of whom were on the side of *Marius*, while others voted for *Sylla*, bidding *Marius* go to his baths at *Baia*.

Marius now affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went daily to the *Campus Martius*.

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tius, where he contended with the youth in the most robust exercises, shewing himself nimble in his armour, and expert in riding, tho' his corpulency rendered him less active. Some were pleased at seeing his emulation in these exercises; while the wise pitied his avarice and ambition, which would not suffer him to set bounds to his good fortune, nor enjoy in quiet the glory and wealth he had already acquired.

Rome seemed now on the very brink of destruction; for *Marius* had, in the person of *Sulpitius*, found out a fit instrument for her ruin. He formed a guard of 600 horse, whom he named his anti-senators; and one day, while the consuls *Sylla* and *Pompeius Rufus* were holding an assembly in the Forum, *Sulpitius* entered with his assassins. The consuls instantly fled, but seizing on the son of *Pompey*, he slew him on the spot. Some say, that *Sylla* being pursued, fled to *Marius's* house, which not being suspected by his pursuers, they passed by, and it is added, that *Marius* himself conveyed him out at his back-door, whence he escaped to the camp; but *Sylla*, in his memoirs, denies his flying to the house of *Marius*, and observes, that he was surrounded with drawn swords, and hurried forcibly thither; after which he was taken from thence and carried to the Forum, where he was forced to revoke an order made by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius thus carrying all before him, at length decreed the command of the army to

Marius; who preparing for his march, sent two tribunes to receive the charge of the army from *Sylla*; but he, instead of resigning it, caused the two tribunes to be murdered, and marched towards *Rome*, incensing his soldiers by the way. Mean while *Marius* put to death several of *Sylla's* friends in the city, and proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who would take up arms in his behalf; but there are said to have been only three who accepted the offer: therefore after a weak resistance, *Sylla* entered *Rome*, and *Marius* was forced to save himself by flight.

Marius having escaped from the city, those who had accompanied him dispersed, and night coming on, he got to a small house, whence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms belonging to *Mutius* his father-in-law, to provide necessaries, while he himself going to *Ostia*, with *Granius*, his wife's son by a former husband, embarked on board a ship, and weighed anchor.

Young *Marius* made all possible haste to provide and pack up what he wanted; but the day-light overtaking him, he narrowly escaped being discovered by the enemy; for it being suspected that *Marius* was lurking about that place, a party of horse came in search of him, which being perceived at a great distance by *Mutius's* bailiff, he immediately hid young *Marius* under a cart-load of beans, and putting to his team, drove up to them. By this stratagem, young *Marius* was conveyed to his wife in the city, who

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having supplied him with some necessaries, he, as soon as it was dark, had the happiness to quit *Rome*, and rode to the sea-shore, where finding a vessel bound for *Africa*, and ready to set sail, he instantly went on board.

Marius the father, at first coasted *Italy* with a favourable gale; but a storm arising, and he growing sea-sick, they with great difficulty made *Circeum*. The storm still increased; and their distress being heightened by the want of provisions, they went on shore, and wandered they knew not whither, shunning the present evil as the greatest, and placing their hopes on futurity: for the land and sea were equally unsafe: it was dangerous to meet with people, and the extreme want to which they were reduced, made it no less dangerous to meet with none. Towards the evening they were met by some cow-herds, who were unable to relieve them; but knowing *Marius*, advised him to get away as soon as possible, they having seen a party of horse in search of him. This threw him into despair; but leaving the high road, he concealed himself in a thick wood, where he passed a very uncomfortable night; and the next morning, pinched with hunger, he travelled by the sea-side, encouraging his half-famished companions not to desert him, by repeating some old prophecies, which foretold his future advancement.

At length *Marius* and his company, when about twenty furlongs from *Minturnæ*, observed a troop of horse making towards them,

and at the same time happened to see two ships under sail. They all ran as fast as their strength would permit them towards the sea, and plunging into the waves, swam towards the ships. *Granius*, his son-in-law, with some who were with him, reached one of them, and passed over to an opposite island named *Ænaria*; while *Marius*, who was heavy and unweildy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two servants, and put into the other ship. The soldiers having now reached the shore, called out to the seamen to come to land with *Marius*; while he entreated them with tears, not to deliver him up. The sailors remained for some time irresolute; but at last gave the soldiers an absolute denial, on which they went off in a rage: but they were no sooner gone, than changing their minds, the sailors cast anchor at the mouth of the river *Liris*, where they advised *Marius* to refresh himself on shore, till the weather became more favourable, which they said would happen at a certain hour. *Marius* followed their advice, and lay down in an adjacent field, without the least suspicion of what was to happen; for the sailors no sooner returned to the ship, than they weighed anchor, and departed.

Thus deserted, *Marius* lay long silent on the shore; but at length arose, and walked disconsolately through by-ways, till by wading through bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he reached the cottage of an old

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man who worked in the fens, and falling at his feet, he entreated him to assist and preserve one, who, if he escaped, would reward him beyond his expectations. The poor man replied, that if he wanted only rest, his cottage would be sufficient; but if he was flying from any body's search, he would hide him in a more secret place. *Marius* desiring that he would, he hid him in a cave by the side of a river, covering him with reeds, and other things that were light, and sufficient to conceal him. But he was soon disturbed, by hearing a noise at the cottage; for one who had been sent in pursuit of *Marius*, charged the poor man with concealing an enemy of the *Romans*, using many threats; on which *Marius* thinking himself no longer safe, arose, and having stripped himself, plunged into a bog, by which means he was discovered, and being hauled out naked, and covered with dirt, was in that condition taken to *Minturnæ*, and delivered to the magistrates; for proclamation had been made in all the towns to make a public search for him, and that he should be killed when found: but the magistrates thinking it proper to consider of the affair before they put him to death, sent him under a strong guard to the house of one *Fannia*, a lady supposed to be his enemy. She had been formerly married to one *Tinnius*, who having divorced her, she sued for her portion, which was very considerable; but her husband being unwilling to return her fortune, accused her of adultery; and the

the cause was brought before *Marius* in his last consulship. It appeared on enquiry, that *Fannia* had, before marriage, been guilty of incontinence, which, though known to *Tinnius*, he had married and cohabited with her for a considerable time. *Marius* gave them both a very severe reprimand; ordered the man to return her fortune, and laid a small fine upon her: but *Fannia*, instead of shewing any resentment, now did all she could to comfort and encourage him.

In the mean time, the senators and magistrates of *Minturnæ* having consulted together, determined to have him killed; and none of the citizens being willing to take away his life, they employed a *Gaul*, or as some say a *Cimbrian*, who on entering his chamber with his sword drawn, was so terrified with his apprehensions, and at his hearing him cry, "Fellow! dar'st thou kill *Caius Marius*?" that he dropt his sword, and running into the street, cried, "I cannot kill *Caius Marius*." The magistrates were at first surprized; but soon relenting, they pitied their unhappy prisoner, and were displeased with themselves for having made so ungrateful a decree against a man who had preserved *Italy*. "Let him go, said they, into banishment. We beg pardon of the gods for turning the great *Marius* distressed and naked out of our city." They then crowded into his chamber, and removed him from thence, in order to conduct him to the sea. In the road was a grove sacred to a nymph named *Marica*, which

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which was held in such veneration by all the people, that nothing was suffered to be removed out of it that was once in it. This grove stopped their progress; for they thought that to go round it would take up too much time, and to pass through it, they imagined impossible. While they were in this perplexity, an old man, less superstitious than the rest, cried, No place was so sacred, but that they might pass through it for the preservation of *Marius*, and taking up some of the baggage, which they had provided for *Marius*, entered the grove, and was readily followed by all the rest. Upon *Marius*'s arrival at the sea side, he found a ship provided for him, and immediately embarked.

He now sailed to the island of *Ænaria*, where meeting with *Granius*, and his other friends, he set sail with them for *Africa*: but the want of water obliging them to touch at *Erycine* in *Sicily*, *Marius* narrowly escaped being seized by a *Roman* quæstor appointed to guard the coast, who killed sixteen of his retinue, that went ashore to fetch water. This obliged him to weigh anchor with the utmost expedition, and passing over to an island named *Meninx*, he there heard that his son had escaped, and was gone to implore the assistance of *Hiempsal* king of *Numidia*. Encouraged by this news, he ventured to steer from thence to *Carthage*. *Sexilius* a *Roman*, was then prætor in *Africa*; and *Marius* having neither obliged nor offended him, hoped he would lend him some assist-

assistance; but he was scarce on shore with a small retinue, when he was met by an officer, who said, "*Sextilius* the prætor forbids thee, *Marius*, to set thy foot in *Africa*; for if thou dost, he says he must treat thee as an enemy of the *Romans*." *Marius*, unable to find words to express his grief and resentment, continued for some time silent, looking sternly on the messenger; who at length asking what answer he should return to the prætor, *Marius*, with a deep sigh, replied, "Go tell him, that thou hast seen the exiled *Marius* sitting on the ruins of *Carthage*:" an answer which nobly represented the fate of that city and his own, as dreadful examples of the vicissitude of all human affairs.

In the mean while, *Hiempsal*, king of *Numidia*, treated young *Marius*, and those who were with him, with great hospitality; but whenever they talked of departing, found some pretence or other for detaining them, and it appeared that these delays were made with no good design. However, *Marius* being a very handsome man, his distress excited the compassion of one of the king's concubines, who generously assisted him and his companions to make their escape to his father, who was then on the shore, when immediately embarking on board a little fishing boat, they all made towards the island of *Cercina*, which is at a small distance from the continent: but they had scarcely put off the boat, when they beheld some horsemen sent

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But to return to the affairs of *Rome*: while *Sylla* was carrying on the war in *Bœotia*, against *Mithridates's* lieutenant, the consuls *Octavius* and *Cinna* quarrelling, had recourse to arms, when the former having the advantage, drove *Cinna* out of *Rome*, as a person of tyrannical principles, and chose *Cornelius Merula* consul in his room. But *Cinna* raising forces in all the other parts of *Italy*, was soon at the head of a formidable army.

Marius no sooner heard of these troubles in *Italy*, than he resolved to put to sea again, and having levied some *Maurusian* horse, with a few others that came to him out of *Italy*, amounting in all to about a thousand, he set sail, and landed at *Telemonè*, a haven in *Hetruria*, where he proclaimed liberty to the slaves, who, with many of the countrymen and shepherds, came flocking to him; and from them he chose as many as he thought fit for the service, and in a short time raised a considerable army, with which he filled forty ships. *Marius* reflecting that *Octavius* was an honest man who governed according to law, and that *Cinna* was at open war with the government, he resolved to join the latter, and accordingly sent him an offer of his service. *Cinna* received him with open arms, made him præconsul, and sent him both the fasces, and other ensigns of authority: but *Marius* declining to accept of them, continued to wear a mean habit, and to let his hair

hair grow, as he had done from the first day of his exile, walking slowly like a man stooping with age; for he was then above seventy. This was done to excite compassion, though under the mask of humility, he shewed his natural fierceness, and it plainly appeared, that his mind was more exasperated than dejected.

Marius having paid his respects to *Cinna*, prepared for war: he first cut off all provisions from the enemy's ships, and plundering the trading vessels, took possession of their stores; then coasting the country, seized the sea-port towns, and having taken *Ostia* by treachery, plundered it, slew a multitude of the inhabitants, and laying a bridge over the *Tiber*, deprived the *Romans* of all supplies from the sea. Then marching towards the city, he posted his army on the hill *Janiculum*.

In *Rome*, the public interest was injured by *Octavius's* too strict observance of the laws; for on this important occasion, being advised to enfranchise the slaves, he said that he would not make slaves free of that city, from which, in support of the laws, he was driving away *Marius*. *Cæcilius Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Numidicus*, who had been formerly supported by *Marius*, now arriving at *Rome*, and being esteemed a better officer than *Octavius*, the soldiers deserted the consul, and going over to him, desired him to take the command, and preserve the city: however, *Metellus* being offended at their

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Before *Marius* entered *Rome*, he sent some of his soldiers, who dragging *Octavius* from the tribunal, instantly murdered him. The senate now assembled, and sent ambassadors to *Cinna* and *Marius*, desiring them to enter the city in a peaceful manner, and to spare the citizens. This request was heard by *Cinna* sitting as consul on his tribunal, and from him the messengers received a favourable answer: but *Marius*, who stood by without uttering a word, shewed by the sternness of his looks, that no mercy was to be expected from him. The messengers were no sooner dismissed, than *Cinna* with a strong guard entered the city; while *Marius*, stopping at the gate, cried with an ironical air, That he was a banished man, and forbid by the laws to enter, therefore if they wanted his service, they must repeal the law that drove him into banishment.

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Upon this an assembly of the people was summoned in the Forum; but scarcely had three or four of the tribes given their suffrages, when he threw off the mask, and entered the city surrounded by a body of guards, which he had chosen from among the slaves who had joined him, and whom he termed his *Bardiæans*. These wretches, at the least word or sign given by *Marius*, murdered all whom he doomed to the slaughter; and, if any person saluted him in the street, whose salutation he did not return, this was a signal for his being instantly assassinated. Hence his own friends could not approach him without being under the most terrible apprehensions.

Cinna, after seeing great numbers thus butchered, grew cloyed with murder, and became remiss in the execution of these bloody acts of revenge; but the rage of *Marius* was still unsatisfied, and he cruelly resolved to sacrifice every *Roman* of whom he had the least suspicion. All the towns and highways soon swarmed with assassins, who, like blood-hounds, hunted down and seized all who fled or hid themselves. On this occasion, the sacred obligations of friendship and hospitality were frequently violated; for there were very few who had not the baseness and cruelty to betray their friends who fled to them for shelter. On this occasion, the slaves of *Cornutus* deserved the highest applause for their fidelity to their master; for having concealed him at home, they took the

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body of one who had been murdered in the streets, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and having shewed it in that condition to *Marius's* soldiers, took it down and interred it, as if it had been the body of their master, whom they saved by this artifice, and conveyed him into *Gaul*. But though *Marcus Antonius* the orator found a faithful friend, he was less fortunate than *Cornutus*. This friend was a plebeian in low circumstances; but, as he had in his house one of the greatest men in *Rome*, he resolved to entertain him as well as possible, and therefore sent his servant to a neighbouring tavern for some wine; when the vintner observing that he would be only satisfied with the best, asked him, what made him so hard to be pleased? on which the fellow told him in confidence, that *Marcus Antonius* was concealed in his master's house. The servant was no sooner gone, than the villain went to wait on *Marius*, whom he found at supper, and told him, that he would deliver *Antonius* into his hands; at which *Marius* is said to have been so transported with joy, that he gave a great shout, and clapped his hands: he would even have risen from the table, and have gone himself to the place, had he not been detained by his friends; however, he sent *Annius* and some soldiers with the vintner, ordering them to make haste and bring him the head of *Antonius*. On their coming to the house, *Annius* staid at the door, and sent the soldiers up to the chamber; where

seeing *Antonius*, they were so charmed with the graces and oratory with which he pleaded for his life, that hanging down their heads, they all wept, and each endeavoured to shift off the murder from one to another. Having stayed a considerable time, *Annius* went up himself, and finding *Antonius* discoursing, and the soldiers astonished and softened by his eloquence, he reprimanded them severely, and then cut off his head with his own hand. *Catulus Lutatius*, who had been *Marius's* colleague, and shared with him in his triumph over the *Cimbri*, hearing that he had told those who had interceded for him, that he must die, shut himself in his room, and making a great fire, suffocated himself with the smoke.

The headless carcases now thrown about, and trampled upon in the streets, excited less compassion than horror and consternation: but the most terrible outrages were those committed by *Marius's* *Bardiæans*, who having murdered the masters of families, proceeded to ravish their wives and daughters; setting no bounds to their dissoluteness, cruelty and avarice. Till at length *Cinna* and *Sertorius* having concerted measures together, surprized them in the night as they lay asleep in the camp, and had them all slain*.

The time now approached when affairs were to take a different turn; for *Sylla* having put an end to the war with *Mithridates*,

* The number of the assassins thus slain in the camp, amounted to 4000.

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was returning to *Italy* at the head of a great army, and the expectation of a bloody civil war gave some intermission to these dreadful calamities. On this occasion *Marius* was the seventh time chosen consul; when coming out of his house on the first day of the year, *Sextus Lucinus* falling in his way, was by his order thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. *Marius* however, being now worn out with age, could no longer support his spirits under the apprehensions of *Sylla's* return, he was disturbed with hideous dreams, yet dreading above all things to lie awake in the night, took to drinking, as the only means of obtaining some respite from his own tormenting reflections. This, with the pressure of his present evils, and the fear of those that were future, impaired his health; and according to *Posidonius* the philosopher, he fell into a pleurisy: but *Caius Piso* the historian says, that *Marius* walking with some of his friends, one night after supper, related all his adventures, and mentioning the inconstancy of *Fortune*, concluded with observing, that it did not become a wise man to trust any longer so fickle a deity; then embracing and taking leave of them, he took to his bed, and died after a sickness of seven days*. Though he had now lived seventy years; though he was the first who had been seven times chosen con-

* He died on the 13th of *January*, 86 years before the beginning of the Christian æra.

ful, and was possessed of a palace, and of riches so immense, that they were sufficient for many kings, yet he complained of his ill fortune, in being forced to die before he had attained what he desired. How different was this disposition from that of *Plato*, who at the approach of death, thanked his good genius, that he was born a man and not a brute; that he was born a *Greek* and not a Barbarian; and that he happened to live in the days of *Socrates*. In like manner it is said, that *Antipater* of *Tarsus*, recollecting at his death the prosperity he had enjoyed, did not omit even his happy voyage to *Athens*; but gratefully acknowledged all the favours his good fortune had bestowed. But every thing vanishes from the minds of the foolish and ungrateful, who indulging vain hopes, sacrifice present enjoyment for the prospect of that which is future. In this they are justly punished; for greedily pursuing external advantages, before reason and judgment have prepared their minds to enjoy them in a proper manner, they can never sufficiently gratify the cravings of appetites that are insatiable and unbounded.

Marius, to the great joy of the *Romans*, died on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship. This event filled them with the hopes of being delivered from the calamities of the most cruel tyranny; but they soon found that they had only changed an old feeble tyrant for one that was young and
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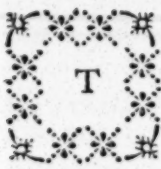
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active; such savage cruelty did his son *Marius* shew in murdering the best and most eminent citizens. However, being at last besieged by *Sylla* in *Prænestæ*, he endeavoured by all possible means to save his life, but in vain; for the city being taken, and finding no possibility of escaping out of the hands of his enemies, he fell by his own hand.





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L I F E
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L Y S A N D E R.

 H O' *Lysander* was not immediately descended from royal ancestors, it is generally agreed that he was related to the *Heraclidæ*. *Lysander* was bred up in the *Spartan* frugality, and always shewed the greatest respect for the discipline and manners of his country. He was brave, and superior to all pleasure, except that which arises from the honour and applause of great actions, the indulgence of which within certain bounds was very excusable at *Sparta*, where youth were inflamed with an early desire of glory; and taught to be elated by commendation, and dejected under disgrace; while he who was insensible of these, was consider'd as incapable of aspiring to any thing great

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great or manly : but *Lyfander* seems to have paid too servile a deference to those of high rank, and to have borne the frowns of men in authority, in a manner unbecoming a *Spartan*. What peculiarly distinguished his character, was his making his poverty sit easy upon him, and his keeping his mind untainted when surrounded by affluence : for he reserved to himself no part of the spoils of gold and silver he brought from the war with the *Athenians* ; but dispersed them among his countrymen, who from thence forward began to value riches, as much as they had before despised them.

The *Peloponnesian* war had continued a long time, when the *Athenians* having suffered greatly in *Sicily*, were under the apprehensions of losing all their power at sea ; but *Alcibiades* being recalled from banishment, managed the war so successfully, that he soon changed the state of affairs ; and after some engagements, rendered the naval power of the *Athenians* * equal to that of the *Spartans*, who now beginning to be sensible of their dangerous situation, and knowing that their affairs required a commander of the greatest bravery, gave the command of the fleet to *Lyfander*.

On his arrival at *Ephesus* †, he found that city in the interest of the *Lacedæmonians* ; but it

* See the life of *Alcibiades* in vol. ii.

† The reader may see a description of the ruins

it was in danger of being over-run with the barbarous customs of the *Persians*, on account of its vicinity to *Lydia*, and the officers of the king of *Persia* frequently residing there. *Lyfander* pitched his camp near the city, caused all his store-ships to be brought into the harbour, and built a dock for his galleys. By this means the port became frequented by merchants; the market-place was full of business, and in the shops of the *Ephefians* was carried on a considerable trade: so that this city may from that time date the first prospect of its present splendor.

Lyfander hearing that *Cyrus*, the son of the king of *Persia*, was at *Sardis*, went thither in order to obtain an interview with him, and having an opportunity of being familiar with the young prince, entirely gained his affections. When *Lyfander* was ready to depart, he provided for him a splendid entertainment, and told him, that whatever favour he asked should be granted; to which *Lyfander* answered, " Since, *Cyrus*, thou express-
 " est such kindness for me, I beg thou wilt
 " add an * obolus to each of my seamen's
 " pay, so that instead of three oboli, they

ruins of this once celebrated city in *The World display'd*, vol. xii. p. 29.

* An obolus was a piece of coin worth three half pence: thus the four oboli was six-pence a day, instead of four pence half-penny, or three oboli.

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“ may receive four.” *Cyrus* being pleased with this answer, made him a present of ten thousand pieces of gold, and that sum *Lyfander* really applied to encrease the wages of his sailors ; by which he induced many of the seamen belonging to the enemy’s fleet to desert to him.

However, as *Alcibiades* was a commander of great experience, and had been successful in every enterprize he had undertaken either by sea or land, and had also the most numerous fleet, *Lyfander* did not think it prudent to attack him. But *Alcibiades* leaving the fleet under the command of *Antiochus*, while he went to *Phocæa*, *Antiochus* sailed with two gallies into the harbour of *Ephesus*, and with great noise and loud laughter passed by the *Lacedæmonian* fleet ; on which *Lyfander* resenting the affront, pursued him with two or three ships ; but on his seeing fresh supplies come to the relief of *Antiochus*, he caused more to be brought up to his assistance, and the whole fleet soon coming to an engagement, *Lyfander* gained a compleat victory, and took fifteen of the *Athenian* galleys. This fight, though not very considerable in itself, was made so by its being the occasion of the disgrace of *Alcibiades*.

Lyfander now collecting a number of resolute men from different cities, settled them at *Ephesus*, where they were to unite into companies, and apply themselves to policy and business, on the promise, that as soon as he had subverted the government of the *Athenians*,

nians, they should be made governors of their respective cities. Thus he secretly made way for the appointment of the *Decemviri*, and all the other innovations which afterwards succeeded in those cities. So that every one made their court to *Lyfander*, promising themselves every thing that was great and honourable, while he enjoyed the chief power of the republic. Hence on his leaving them, they became uneasy under *Callicratides* his successor, a man of the greatest integrity; whose virtue they indeed admired, as people do the statue of an hero; but *Lyfander* had so engaged their affections, that some of them shed tears at his departure. He even gave them an unfavourable impression of *Callicratides*, by his sending to *Cyrus* the residue of the money he had received from that prince for the pay of the soldiers.

This step involved *Callicratides* in great perplexity; for that commander had brought no money with him, and the people had been so ruffled, that he was unable to raise any from them*; he had therefore no other re-

* In this urgent necessity, a person offered him fifty talents, (or 50,000 crowns) to obtain a favour; but as *Callicratides* could not grant it consistent with justice, he, to his great honour, refused them. Upon this one of his officers said, "I would accept them, were I in thy place. And so would I, replied the general, were I in thine." *Plutarch in Apoph.*
p. 222.

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source than to solicit supplies from *Cyrus*, for which he was extremely unqualified, as he had a noble and generous spirit, that rendered it impossible for him to flatter and caress a Barbarian who had nothing to value himself upon but his gold. Necessity however forced him to *Lydia*; but he returned from thence without even gaining admittance into the palace of *Cyrus*. *Callicratides* was soon after defeated, and lost his life at the battle of *Arginusa*.

The confederates now finding their affairs declining, sent to *Sparta* to desire that *Lyfander* might be again chosen admiral, and *Cyrus* also sent letters thither to the same purpose: when notwithstanding there being a law among the *Lacedæmonians* against conferring the command twice on the same person, they shewed their willingness to gratify their allies, by giving the title to one *Aracus*, and the power to *Lyfander*, which gave great satisfaction.

On taking an impartial view of these generals, we find *Callicratides* open and sincere, and *Lyfander* full of craft and cunning. Being told that it was below the character of one descended from *Hercules* to use stratagems in war, he replied, "When the lion's strength fails, we must take in the fox's subtilty." According to *Androclides*, he made use of an expression which shews, that he had little regard to an oath, he saying, "that children were to be cheated by playthings, and men by oaths." But how inconsistent is it with the character of a *Spartan*,
 Vol. IV. F

tan, to use his gods even more contemptuously than his enemies; for the man who over-reaches his adversary by a false oath, publicly declares that he fears him, and despises the gods.

Lyfander now went to *Sardis*, at the request of *Cyrus*, who gave him a large sum of money, and promised him much more, telling him, that should his father refuse to give it, rather than he should want, he would supply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing else failed, would even melt down his throne, which was of massy gold and silver. And that prince leaving *Sardis* to attend his father in *Media*, not only assigned him all the revenues of the cities, but entrusted him with the government of his province; and taking him in his arms, entreated him to defer engaging with the *Athenians* till his return, when he would bring him a formidable fleet from *Phanicia* and *Cilicia*.

During the absence of the prince, *Lyfander*, tho' unable to come to a general engagement, surprized *Ægina* and *Salamin*; and afterwards attacked *Lampsacus* by sea, while *Thorax* laid siege to it by land, and the town being stormed, gave the plunder to his soldiers.

In the mean time the *Athenian* fleet, consisting of 180 sail, repaired to a place called *Ægeſpotamos* *, where they lay opposite to the enemy, who still continued near *Lampsacus*. The two navies being now in sight, every body expected an engagement the next

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morning. *Lyfander* commanded all the seamen on board, and gave both them and the land forces on the shore orders to be in readiness on the first signal, as if they were to fight by break of day. Early the next morning the *Athenian* fleet drew up in a line before the *Lacedæmonians*, and gave the challenge; but *Lyfander*, instead of accepting it, sent orders to the ships in the van to remain in the same posture, and not to make the least motion. In the evening the *Athenians* retired, but he would not suffer one man to land, till two or three galleys, which he had sent out to observe them, were returned with the advice that they had seen the enemy disembark.

This was practised for several days successively, till at length, *Lyfander* perceiving that the enemy treated him and his men as cowards, and returned negligently and full of presumption, he dispatched some light vessels to observe their motions, ordering the captains, as soon as they saw the *Athenians* land, to row back; and on their being come half way, to lift up a brazen shield at the head of each ship, as a signal for him to make up to them. The signal no sooner appeared, than the trumpets in the admiral's galley sounded to battle, and the ships set sail. *Conon* the *Athenian* general first saw their approach, and made all possible haste to get the soldiers on board, persuading some, and forcing others into the ships; but in vain were all his endeavours; for his men were dispersed, and having no suspicion of being surprized, some were walking in the fields, others were

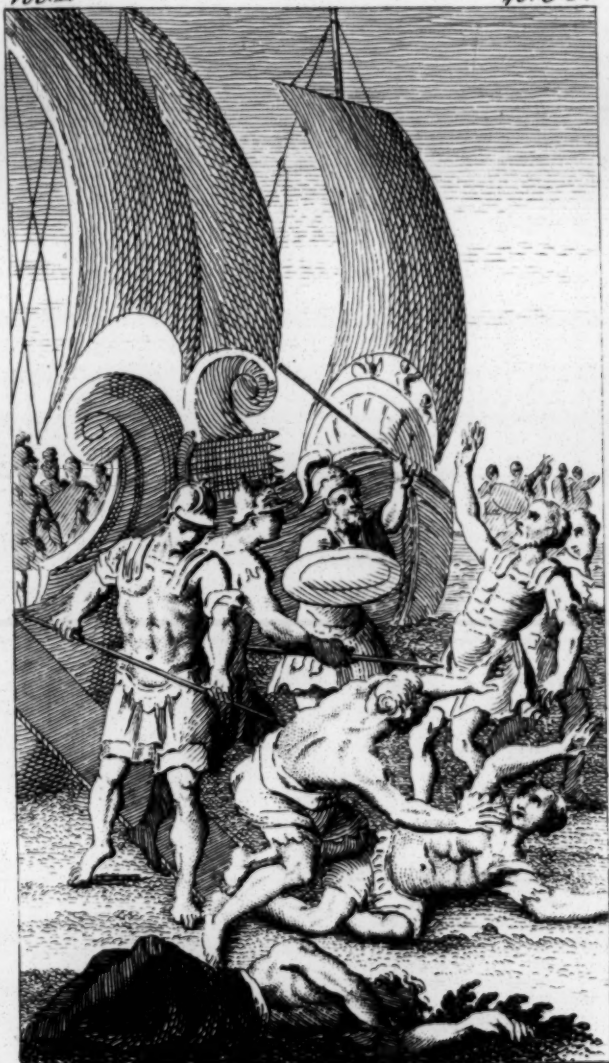
asleep in their tents, some were at dinner, and others gone to market. Thus when the *Spartans* drew near, *Conon*, being unable to make any resistance, escaped with eight ships to *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Peloponnesians* attacking those that remained, took all that were empty, and disabled those in which the *Athenians* were embarking: the soldiers who came unarmed, and in the greatest confusion to get on board the ships, were slain in the attempt, and those who thought to make their escape by flight, were pursued and taken. *Lysander* took 3000 prisoners with their commanders, and made himself master of the whole fleet, except the sacred galley, and the few ships that escaped with *Conon* to *Cyprus*. Having fastened the ships he had taken to his own, and plundered the *Athenian* camp, he sailed back to *Lampsacus* attended with songs of triumph and the sound of flutes. Thus *Lysander* in one hour, merely by his skill and conduct put an end to a long and tedious war, which had produced amazing vicissitudes of fortune, and in which more generals had perished than in all the wars in which *Greece* had hitherto been engaged.

The 3000 prisoners were condemned to die. *Lysander* then called *Philocles*, one of the *Athenian* generals, who had formerly persuaded the people of *Athens* to pass a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right-hand of all the prisoners of war, to disable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the oar. *Philocles* being accordingly brought, he asked him, What punishment

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nishment that man deserved who advised his fellow-citizens to cut off the thumbs of *Greeks*? To which *Philocles* replied, "Bring not an accusation against those who have no judge; but as thou art conqueror, use us as we would have used thee, hadst thou been conquered." Then bathing himself, says *Theophrastus*, he put on a rich robe, and led his countrymen to execution *.

Lysander went now to the neighbouring cities, and commanded all the *Athenians* he found, on pain of death, to repair to *Athens*, in order that the city might be reduced by famine, and rendered incapable of sustaining a long siege. Besides, wherever he came, he changed the government of the place, and put in a *Lacedæmonian* governor, with ten archons or magistrates of the same nation, all taken out of those societies he had before established. These had the power of life and death, and all were either killed or banished who opposed them.

These affairs being soon settled, he went to *Athens*, seeming to expect that the city would soon surrender; but finding that the *Athenians* were determined to make a vigorous defence, he returned into *Asia*, and

* All the 3000 prisoners were put to the sword, except *Adamantus*, who had opposed the above decree. Thus were the innocent punished with the guilty, and for the cruel proposal of one man, such a number of prisoners unhappily perished.

changed the form of government in other cities. He expelled the natural inhabitants of *Samos*, and gave the exiles possession of that city. The same barbarity he used to the inhabitants of *Sestos*, which at that time was subject to the *Athenians*, and divided the city and the adjacent territory among his seamen: but the *Spartans* being displeased at this, restored the *Sestians*. They and their allies were however, in all other respects, satisfied with *Lyfander's* conduct; for he restored the *Æginetæ* to their own cities, of which they had long been deprived; and he drove the *Athenians* out of the cities of the *Melians* and *Scionians*, which were restored to their former inhabitants.

Lyfander now hearing that there was a famine at *Athens*, sailed thither, and obliged that city to surrender at discretion, on which the Ephori of *Sparta* decreed, that the *Athenians* should demolish the *Piræus*, and the long wall that joined that port to the city; quit the foreign towns they possessed, and keep within their own territories; restore their prisoners; pay such contribution as should be demanded, and keep no more ships than the *Lacedæmonians* were willing to allow them. All the ships, except twelve, together with the fortifications, were at length given up to *Lyfander*, who made his entry into the city on the 16th of *April*, the very day in which they had formerly defeated the Barbarians in the naval engagement near the island

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island of *Salamis* *. He immediately began to attempt an alteration in the government; but the people appearing more stubborn than he expected, he let them know that they had violated the capitulation, as the wall was yet standing, though the time for demolishing it was expired; and that therefore the whole affair should be resumed in the council, and new terms made for them. It is even said, that he now proposed in the council of the allies, that the *Athenians* should be reduced to a state of slavery; and that *Eriantbus*, a *Theban* commander, persuaded them to raze the city, and turn it into pasture-ground for the grazing of cattle. But the council considering the barbarity of laying in ruins a city rendered famous by the birth and education of so many great men, were averse to such cruel measures. *Lysander*, however, finding the *Athenians* entirely at his mercy, sent for a number of musicians out of the city, and joining them with those belonging to the camp, demolished the walls, and burned the ships, to the sound of their instruments, while his associates danced, crowned with garlands, and expressed as much joy as if that had been the beginning of their liberty. He then altered the form of government, appointed thirty rulers over the city, with ten over the *Piræus*, and having placed a strong garrison in the citadel, gave

* See the life of *Themistocles* in vol. i.

the post of governor to *Callibius*, a *Spartan*.

These affairs being settled, *Lyfander* failed to *Thrace*; but sent all the money and presents he had received to *Sparta*, by *Gylippus*, who had commanded the army in *Sicily*; but he cutting the bottom of every bag, took a large sum out of each, and then sewed them up again; but he did not know that in every bag there was a bill of the sum it contained. On his arrival at *Sparta*, he hid what he had taken for his own use under the tiles of his house, and delivered the bags to the magistrates, shewing them the seals unbroken. On their examining the money, they were greatly surpriz'd at seeing it fall so short of the sums expressed in the bills, till *Gylippus's* servant explained the mystery by a riddle, saying he had observed many owls roost in the *Ceramicus**; for the *Athenian* coin bore the impression of an owl. To avoid punishment, *Gylippus* went into voluntary exile, carrying with him in all places the disgrace of having sullied the glory of his great actions, by his sordid avarice and dishonesty.

The *Spartans* most distinguished for their wisdom made on this occasion very warm reflections on *Lyfander*, for having acted so contrary to the laws of *Sparta*, and earnestly pressed the magistrates to send away all the

* The word *Ceramicus* signified the roof of a house, and was also the name of a place in *Athens*.

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gold and silver, as an alluring but destructive evil: a decree was proposed, that no gold or silver coin should be received in that city, and that none should pass but the current iron money. *Lyfander's* friends opposed this decree, and it was determined that gold and silver should be only kept in the public treasury, and be solely employed in the occasions of the state; and that converting it to private uses should be punished with death. This however entirely defeated *Lycurgus's* design in prohibiting all other money but that of iron. By his law he banished avarice, with all its attendant vices*; but now it would be absurd to imagine, that while gold was honoured in public, it should be despised in private, or that those who found wealth of such advantage to the state, should think it of no concern to themselves.

Out of the plunder taken, *Lyfander* erected statues in brass at *Delphi* of himself, and several of the chief commanders, and caused two stars of gold to be set up in honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, in the room of those stolen before the battle of *Leuctra*. And a galley of gold and ivory, two cubits in length, which *Cyrus* sent him when he congratulated him on his victory†, was placed in the treasury of *Brasidas* and the *Acanthians*.

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* See the life of *Lycurgus* in vol. i. of this work.

† Mr. *Dacier* observes, that a galley of gold and

No *Spartan* general had ever such absolute authority as *Lyfander*; nor had any of them such pride; for he was the first of the *Grecians*, to whom altars were erected, and sacrifices offered, as to a god; and it was decreed by the *Samians*, that the feasts celebrated in honour of *Juno*, should be transferred to him. He was always surrounded by a crowd of poets, the venal flatterers of his ambition, who emulated each other in singing his great exploits, for which they were magnificently rewarded. His arrogance and violence of temper were encreased by the flatteries of those who paid their court to him, and he became immoderate both in the expressions of his favour and resentment. On his friends he bestowed the government of cities, with an unlimited and tyrannical power; and nothing but the death of those who were so unhappy as to offend him, could gratify his resentment. This plainly appears from his behaviour to the *Milefians*, among whom, those who had been most zealous in maintaining the rights of the people, concealed themselves for fear of his resentment; when apprehending that they might secure themselves by flight, he swore that not a man

and ivory was a very proper congratulatory present for a naval victory. These sorts of presents were common among the ancients. Thus *Aristobulus* presented *Pompey* a golden vineyard, or garden, valued at 500 talents.

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of them should suffer. Upon this, relying on his oath, they appeared again in public; on which he basely delivered them up to the opposite party; and the whole number, amounting to 800, were massacred. Cruelties of this nature he exercised in every city, and none were safe who were suspected to have an inclination to popular government, or whose deaths could gratify the malice or cruelty of his friends.

Though the *Spartans* seemed to pay little regard to the complaints made against him; yet, when *Pharnabazus*, whose province he had laid waste, sent to complain of him, the magistrates of *Sparta* considered of the affair, and put to death *Thorax* one of his colleagues, who, contrary to the late law, was found to have silver in his possession. They even ordered *Lyfander* to return to *Sparta*. Their letter threw him into the greatest consternation. As he principally feared the accusation of *Pharnabazus*, he endeavoured, as soon as possible, to come to an explanation with him; and when they met, desired him to give another information to the senate, and to contradict what had been said by his messengers. *Pharnabazus* promising to comply with his request, wrote in his presence a letter according to his directions; but had contrived to have another by him, that was quite opposite to it, and when they came to seal the letter, he changed it for that he had privately written; which *Lyfander* took with him to *Sparta*, and delivered to the magistrates, who
having

having read it, shewed it to him, on which he left the palace in great confusion.

Some days after he returned, and told the magistrates, that he was obliged to go to the temple of *Ammon*, to offer a sacrifice he had vowed to that god before the battle; but it is generally believed that this was only a pretence; and that the real cause of his retiring was his fear of the magistrates, and his chusing rather to wander abroad than to be contradicted at home; for his haughty spirit could not bear submission: thus a horse that has been long free, and suffered to range in an open pasture, is unwilling to be confined again to the stable, and to submit to his former labour. It was not, however, without difficulty, that he obtained leave from the magistrates to make this voyage; and, when they had given their consent, the kings of *Sparta*, considering that most of the cities were in the possession of his friends, which made him in effect the master of all *Greece*, attempted to dispossess them, and to restore the government to the people.

These proceedings every where raised new disturbances. The *Athenians* having seized the castle of *Phylæ*, first took arms against the 30 tyrants, and defeated them. When *Lyfander* returning in great haste to *Sparta*, persuaded the *Lacedæmonians* to maintain the government he had established. To this they agreed, and sent 100 talents to the thirty tyrants, to enable them to continue the war, declaring *Lyfander* commander in chief: but the

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the two kings of *Sparta* being jealous of his power, resolved that one of them should be present in that expedition: accordingly *Pausanias* marched into *Attica*, in appearance to support the tyrants; but really to put an end to the war, and to prevent *Lysander's* having *Athens* once more at his mercy. This design he easily accomplished; for by composing the tumults of the *Athenians*, he put a check upon the ambition of *Lysander*: but the *Athenians* soon after revolting again, the whole blame was laid on *Pausanias*, and it was said, that by taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the people's mouths, he had rendered them insolent, licentious and head-strong: while *Lysander* obtained the reputation of being solely influenced by the glory of *Sparta*.

After the death of *Agis*, one of the two kings of *Sparta*, *Agésilas* his brother, and *Leotychides* his supposed son, laid claim to the crown. *Lysander* persuaded *Agésilas* to claim his right to the kingdom, on account of his being an undoubted descendant of *Hercules*, while the legitimacy of *Leotychides* was suspected; and by his interest with the people, he caused *Agésilas* to be raised to the throne.

This prince was no sooner settled in his kingdom, than *Lysander* earnestly pressed him to make war on *Persia*, and to promote this design, wrote to his friends in *Asia*, desiring them to petition the *Lacedæmonians* to give the command of their forces against the Barbarians to *Agésilas*. With this request they complied, and for that purpose sent ambas-

fadors to *Sparta*. *Agefilaus* thought himself as much obliged to *Lyfander* for this favour, as he had been before for his kingdom: but the ambitious are frequently impeded in the path of glory, by envy and ingratitude, which induces them to make those their enemies who would be their partners and assistants in the performance of heroic actions. *Agefilaus* at first shewed the greatest regard for *Lyfander*, whom he made one of his council, and consulted in all affairs of moment; but on his entering *Asia*, where he was but little known, he was disgusted at seeing that the people seldom addressed themselves to him, but made their greatest court to *Lyfander*, some on account of a former friendship, and others from servility: thus the counsellor had all that was really valuable in the possession of power, while the other had only the empty title of king. *Lyfander* indeed ought to have moderated his ambition, and to have been contented with acting a second part: but, on the other hand, *Agefilaus* was worthy of blame for disgracing a friend to whom he was under such infinite obligations: for he gave him no opportunity of appearing with reputation; he allowed him no post of command; and those in whose favour *Lyfander* interested himself, were sure to be less favoured than the meanest and most inconsiderable persons. He even affronted *Lyfander* so far as to make him his carver, and then said of the *Ionians*, "Let them
" make their court to my carver." Upon
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this *Lysander* thus addressed the king, "In-
 deed *Agefilaus*, thou well knowest how to
 lessen thy friends." "Yes, said he, when
 they pretend to be greater than myself. It
 is just that those should have the greatest
 share of my power who most endeavour to
 promote it." *Lysander* then desired, that for
 the sake of the strangers who had their eyes up-
 on them, he would give him a post in which he
 might be least suspected. The king granted
 him this favour, and sent him ambassador to
 the *Hellepont*, where notwithstanding his being
 justly offended at the treatment he had re-
 ceived, he faithfully discharged his duty :
 yet he was not employed in any other service ;
 but returned in disgrace to *Sparta*, highly in-
 censed against *Agefilaus*, and with a dislike
 of the entire frame of the *Lacedæmonian* go-
 vernment.

Lysander had long formed a scheme for pro-
 ducing a considerable change in the consti-
 tution of *Sparta*, by preventing the kings
 being regularly chosen by hereditary succe-
 ssion out of two families, and by giving all
 the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to that ho-
 nour: it is even said that he intended to ex-
 tend this privilege to the *Spartans* in general,
 and to render it not so much a reward con-
 ferred on the posterity of *Hercules*, as of those
 who bravely imitated that valour which gave
 him a place among the gods. But his de-
 sign failed at the time he had appointed for
 its execution, by the cowardice of one of his

agents: however, the whole was kept a secret till after *Lyfander's* death.

Lyfander now involved his country in a war with the *Bæotians*; but others lay the blame upon the *Thebans*, who overturned the altar, and profaned the sacrifice *Agésilas* attempted to offer in the town of *Aulis*. On the other hand, they who consider *Lyfander* as the author of the war, say that he was displeased at the *Thebans* laying claim to a tenth of the spoils taken from the *Athenians* at *Declea*, and their being offended at his sending the money to *Sparta*: but he was most exasperated against the *Thebans* for being the first who furnished the *Athenians* with the means of delivering themselves from the thirty tyrants whom he had established at *Athens*; and for publishing a decree, that every house and city in *Bæotia* should be open and free for any *Athenian* who desired protection; and that all who marched thro' *Bæotia* to the relief of the *Athenians*, should not meet with the least molestation. *Lyfander's* resentment, strengthened by the petulance of old age, induced him on this occasion to importune the magistrates to suffer him to march against the *Thebans*. Having obtained their consent, he proceeded with an army on this expedition, and *Pausanias* followed him with another, marching round by *Cythæron* to invade *Bæotia*; while *Lyfander* passing through *Phocis*, in order to meet him, took in his way the city of the *Orchomenians* by capitulation, and stormed and plundered *Lebadia*. From thence he directed

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patched letters to *Pausanias*, to desire him to join him with his forces at *Haliartus*, where he would meet him by break of day. The messengers were however taken by some of the *Theban* scouts, and the letters being opened, they threw part of their forces into the city of *Haliartus* just before *Lysander* came up with his. He at first resolved to encamp on the side of a hill, in order to wait for *Pausanias*; but the day approaching, he grew impatient, and marched with his soldiers along the road to the city walls. But a body of *Thebans* placed near the monument of *Alcmena* attacked his rear. In the mean while those within the city, together with the *Haliartians*, drew up in order of battle, and as soon as *Lysander* appeared with his vanguard before the gates, rushed out, killed that general, and a soothsayer who attended him, with some others; for the greater part fled towards the main army; but being closely pursued by the *Thebans*, soon dispersed and escaped to the hills. A thousand *Spartans* fell in the pursuit, and 300 *Thebans* were slain by pursuing them too rashly into craggy and dangerous places. These 300 *Thebans* were rendered desperate by their being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*; and they had formed the resolution of wiping off this disgrace, though with the loss of their lives.

The news of this defeat reached *Pausanias*, while he was on his march from *Plataeæ* to *Thespia*; on which he immediately turned

off towards *Haliartus*, where *Thrafsybulus* arrived with a party of *Athenians* under his command. *Pausanias* would have sent to desire a truce for burying the dead; but the more aged among the *Spartans* could not bear to think of it, and at last going in a body to the king, told him, that *Lyfander's* body was not to be redeemed by conditions, but by arms; that if they conquered, they might then carry it off honourably; and if they happened to be vanquished, it would be glorious for them to die on the same spot with their commander: but *Pausanias* thinking it too hazardous to attack the *Thebans* while flushed with victory; and the body lying so near the walls, that it could not be easily carried off without a truce: he sent an herald; carried off the dead, and retiring with his army, interred *Lyfander* in the territories of the *Panopæans*, who were the friends and confederates of the *Spartans*; and his monument is still to be seen in the road from *Delphi* to *Chæronea*.

The *Spartans* thought *Pausanias's* behaviour on this occasion so dishonourable in a general, that they resolved to try him for his life, on which he fled, and for the remainder of his days lived as a recluse in the temple of *Minerwa* at *Tegea*.

The poverty of *Lyfander*, which was discovered at his death, rendered him the subject of admiration: for notwithstanding his having immense wealth at his command, and an absolute authority over many cities, he had

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had made no addition to the wealth of his family *.

Some time before *Lyfander's* death, two of the principal citizens of *Sparta*, had contracted themselves to his two daughters ; but on their knowing in what condition he left his affairs, they broke off the contract : but the *Spartans* had too great an esteem for him to suffer this sordid baseness to go unpunished, and *Lyfander's* poverty, which was the strongest proof of his virtue, to be an obstacle to an alliance with his family. They were severely fined, publickly disgraced, and exposed to the contempt of all persons of honour. For at *Sparta*, penalties were established, not only

* Mr. Rollin very justly observes, with respect to the life of *Lyfander*, that a generous disinterestedness, in the midst of all that could enflame and gratify the lust of gain, is well worthy of admiration : but in *Lyfander* it was attended with great defects that entirely obscure its lustre. Without mentioning his imprudence in introducing gold and silver into *Sparta*, which paved the way for the ruin of his country ; what opinion can we form of a man, who regarded probity and justice as nothing ? to whom falsehood, fraud, and perfidy appeared legal methods to obtain his ends : and who, in order to advance his friends and creatures, was not afraid of committing the most flagrant injustice, and the most inhuman acts of cruelty and oppression.

for

for such as refused to marry, or married too late, but also for those who chose to marry into rich, rather than into virtuous families.

Ephorus observes, that a dispute afterwards arising between *Sparta* and her confederates, *Agésilæus* was ordered to search *Lyfander's* writings, when a discourse was found, in which that great man endeavoured to shew, the advantages that would arise from destroying the right of succession to the throne of *Sparta*, and rendering the kingdom elective. This discourse *Agésilæus* proposed to publish, and thus to exhibit to the people *Lyfander's* real character: but *Lacraditas*, a man of great wisdom, and president of the Ephori, prevented his taking that step, by observing, that it would be ungenerous to disturb the ashes of *Lyfander*; and that it would be more prudent to bury that work in his grave, as it was written in a very artful and persuasive manner.



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H O' *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* was born to a scanty fortune, he was descended from a patrician family : one of his ancestors, named *Rufinus*, was consul ; but being found to have in his possession, contrary to law, above ten pounds weight of plate, he was expelled the senate ; and after this his posterity lived in great obscurity : whence the great *Sylla*, while young, dwelt in lodgings, for which he paid a small rent. His eyes were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing, and his face was full of red fiery pimples, mixed with spots of white ; whence some say he

he obtained the surname of *Sylla*; and an *Athenian* ridiculed him in a verse, in which he calls him a *mulberry strew'd over with meal*. In his youth, his fondness for raillery made him converse freely with mimics and buffoons, whom he accompanied in all their debauches; and even when he was in the height of his power, he would often divest himself of the gravity suitable to his age and dignity, to spend his time with them in drinking, and contending with them in licentious wit; for which he sometimes neglected affairs of the greatest importance. He was never serious at the hours of refreshment; for tho' at other times he was a man of business, and had an austere countenance, yet as soon as he entered upon mirth and revelry, the traces of his countenance were changed, and he became on a level with the lowest buffoons and dancers, who might do with him what they pleased. He became in love with a woman named *Licopolis*, who, though a common prostitute, was rich, and not only returned his passion, but made him her heir at her death. He also inherited the estate of his mother-in-law, who loved him as her own son.

In the first consulship of *Marius*, *Sylla* was chosen quæstor, and attended him into *Africa* in the war of *Jugurtha*, in which he acquired great reputation. By seizing a favourable opportunity, he gained the friendship of *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*. The ambassadors of that prince having made their escape

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cape from some *Numidian* robbers, *Sylla* entertained them with great generosity; dismissed them with handsome presents, and gave them a guard to protect them on their journey. *Bocchus*, who both hated and feared *Jugurtha* his son-in-law, had him then at his court, he having after his defeat fled to him for protection: but resolving to betray him, he sent for *Sylla*, who having first communicated the secret to *Marius*, marched with a small force, and ventured to confide in a Barbarian, who shewed himself so void of honour and generosity, as to propose to deliver up his own daughter's husband, whom he had promised to protect. Thus did *Sylla*, from the desire of seizing another man's person, deliver up his own: for *Bocchus* having them now both in his power, for a long time debated with himself, about which of them he should betray; but at length fixed on his first design, and delivered *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*.

For this *Marius* triumphed, but his enemies ascribed all the glory to *Sylla*, who caused a seal to be engraven, in which *Bocchus* was represented surrendering up *Jugurtha* to him. This touched *Marius* to the quick; however, thinking *Sylla* too inconsiderable to be the subject of his envy, he continued still to employ him in the army: in his second consulship he made him his lieutenant, and in his third consulship, he was made a military tribune. While in these posts, *Sylla* performed many signal services; for while he

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was lieutenant, he took prisoner *Copillus*, the chief of the *Tectosages*; and while tribune he prevailed on the *Marfians*, a great and warlike nation, to become the friends and confederates of *Rome*.

Sylla having at length received convincing proofs of *Marius's* jealousy, by his no longer affording him opportunities of action, he applied himself to *Catulus*, *Marius's* colleague in the consulship, who was a man of probity, but wanted the vigour and activity necessary in a military commander. *Catulus* employed *Sylla* in many difficult affairs, who by this means encreased in power and reputation. Thus *Sylla* subdued most of the Barbarians who inhabited the *Alps*; and in a time of scarcity, undertaking to furnish the army with provisions, brought such plenty, that what was more than sufficient for the forces under *Catulus*, served to supply those commanded by *Marius*, and this, as he himself observes, exasperated *Marius* still more against him.

Sylla now thinking that he had acquired sufficient reputation by his arms to entitle him to a share in the administration, became a candidate for the prætorship, but lost it: a disappointment which he himself says, was owing to the people, who knowing his intimacy with king *Bocchus*, and expecting that if he was first made ædile, he would gratify them with combats of *Libyan* wild beasts, chose other prætors, in order to force him on the ædileship: however, the next year, partly
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*Bocchus delivering JUGURTHA
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by flattering the people, and partly by money, he got himself elected prætor. Thus, one day when *Sylla* threatened *Cæsar* * that he would use his own authority against him; *Cæsar* replied with a smile, “Thou dost “well to call it thy own, for thou hast “bought it †.”

Sylla, at the expiration of the prætorship, was sent into *Cappadocia*, under the pretence of restoring *Ariobarzanes* to his kingdom; but in reality, to check the growing power of *Mithridates*, who had enlarged his dominions by conquests equal to his paternal inheritance. He took with him few troops out of *Italy*; but the allies readily supplying him, he defeated a large body of the *Cappadocians*, and a still larger of the *Armenians*, who came to their assistance, and having dethroned *Godius*, he restored the kingdom to *Ariobarzanes*. During his stay on the banks of the *Euphrates*, *Orobazus*, ambassador from

* This was one *Cæsar Strabo*, whom *Cicero* commends for his wit and pleasantry.

† On this occasion *Sylla* gratified the people with the shews they expected, and exhibited a combat of an hundred lions, which *Bocchus* sent him from *Africa*, with people of the country accustomed to fight those terrible animals. And, as in these kind of games, the danger encreased the pleasure and admiration of the people, it is observed that *Sylla* was the first who made lions without chains.

Arfaces, king of *Parthia*, came to him, tho' there had yet been no correspondence between the two nations; and he had the honour of being the first *Roman* to whom the *Parthians* applied for an alliance and friendship. At the time of audience, he ordered three chairs to be brought, one for *Ariobarzanes*, one for *Orobazus*, and the third for himself, placing himself in the middle; for which the king of *Parthia* afterwards put *Orobazus* to death, for so ill sustaining the honour of his nation. *Sylla* was commended by some for this lofty behaviour, while others blamed his arrogance and unseasonable ambition.

At *Sylla's* return to *Rome*, the quarrel between him and *Marius* was revived by the officiousness of *Bocchus*, who to please the *Romans*, and particularly *Sylla*, caused several statues of *Victory* to be set up in the Capitol, and near them the figure of *Jugurtha*, as he was surrendered by him into the hands of *Sylla*. At this *Marius* was so exasperated, that he resolved to pull them down, when the friends of *Sylla* preparing to prevent it, the city would have been thrown into the utmost confusion, had not the war of the confederates, which had long lain smothering, at last blazed out, and prevented the sedition.

During the course of this war, which was diversified by many signal events, *Sylla* performed several remarkable exploits, and was by the citizens esteemed a great commander;

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by his friends the greatest, and even by his enemies the most fortunate. Indeed *Sylla* readily joined with the last in ascribing all his success to the immediate influence of *Fortune*. He himself says in his memoirs, that those actions which he had been forced to execute in a quite different manner from his first design, and on which he had suddenly ventured, were always more successful than those he had undertaken upon the most mature deliberation. As to the other parts of his character, he was inconsistent and irregular, he was very rapacious, and still more liberal; cringing to those he stood in need of, and trampling on those who stood in need of him: he would sometimes put men to death for the smallest faults, and to others shew no resentment against the greatest crimes. From hence it seems probable, that he was really of a cruel and revengeful disposition, but that he could check it to suit his interest. In this very war, when the soldiers had killed *Albinus* with clubs and stones, though he was his own lieutenant, he entirely neglected to punish the perpetrators of this murder; and even boasted that he should afterwards have the soldiers more under his command, and that they would become more enterprising, as they would be solicitous to expiate their crime by their bravery. *Sylla* now employed all his thoughts on the means of crushing *Marius*, and the confederate war being almost at an end, he strove to recommend himself to the army, in order to his

being declared general in the war against *Mithridates*.

On his return to *Rome*, he was fifty-five years of age, and was then made consul with *Quintus Pompeius*. He now esteemed the dignity of that office a trifle when compared with his future views and expectations. He impatiently longed for the chief command in the war against *Mithridates*, but was opposed by *Marius*, who watching his opportunity, took advantage of *Sylla's* being gone to settle some affairs at the camp, and formed that execrable sedition which was of more mischief to *Rome*, than all the other civil wars put together. *Marius* about this time gained over to his interest *Sulpitius*, one of the tribunes, a man who excelled in wickedness, and was a strange compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice; for he committed the most criminal actions without the least reluctance. He sold the freedom of *Rome* to foreigners, and the sons of enfranchised persons; receiving the money on counters erected for that purpose in the Forum. He kept 3000 armed men in constant pay, and had always a guard of young men of the Equestrian order, whom he named his *Antistatian* band. This was the man *Marius* let in upon the commonwealth, and he by violence, and the force of arms, made several ordinances of a very dangerous nature; and among the rest, gave to *Marius* the conduct of the war against *Mithridates*. One day, as the consuls were holding an assembly of the people

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people near the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, he let loose upon them his *Antisenatorian* band, who among many others, slew the young son of *Pompey* the consul in the Forum, *Pompey* himself hardly escaping in the crowd. *Sylla* was pursued into the house of *Marius*, whence being brought back into the Forum, he was forced to abolish an order that had been made for a cessation from business. *Pompey* was then deposed by *Sulpitius*, who continued *Sylla* in the consulship, though he confirmed *Marius* in the post of commander in chief in the war against *Mithridates*.

Two military tribunes were then sent to *Nola*, to take the command of *Sylla's* army, and resign it to *Marius*. *Sylla* however got first to the camp, and the soldiers having heard the business of the tribunes, stoned them. *Marius* upon this put all the friends of *Sylla* he found in the city to the sword, and plundered their houses. A general commotion ensued, and the people were hurrying from the camp to the city, and from the city to the camp. The senate had no longer any authority, but were governed by *Marius* and *Sulpitius*. Hearing that *Sylla* was advancing towards the city at the head of his troops*, they sent *Brutus* and *Servilius*, two of the prætors, to forbid his nearer approach: but delivering their message to *Sylla* with too much haughtiness, the soldiers in the first

* These amounted to 30,000 foot, and 6000 horse.

transports of their resentment, had like to have slain them; but having broke their rods, stripped them of their purple robes, and in other respects treated them with great indignity, they dismissed them.

The citizens seeing them thus return without the ensigns of their office, were in the utmost consternation. *Marius* prepared to repel force by force, and *Sylla*, with *Pompey* his colleague, marched at the head of six complete legions from *Nola*, his soldiers impatiently longing to advance directly to *Rome*. When they had reached *Picinæ*, they were met by some ambassadors, who besought *Sylla* not to proceed in that hostile manner against the city, assuring him, that the senate had decreed he should have every thing that was just and reasonable. *Sylla* seemed to consent, and ordered the ground to be marked out for his camp; but the ambassadors were no sooner gone, than he sent a body under the command of *Lucius Bassilius* and *Caius Mummius*, to secure one of the gates, and the wall next the *Æsquiline* Mount, while he himself followed at the head of the army.

Bassilius having seized the gate, entered the city, when the unarmed multitude getting to the tops of the houses, pelted him and his soldiers with stones and tiles, and drove them back to the wall. By this time *Sylla* came up, and calling to his men, ordered them to set fire to the houses; he himself took a flaming torch in his hand, and leading the way, commanded his archers to let fly their

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fire-darts against the tops of the buildings : for being animated by rage, he acted like a madman : he thought only of his enemies, and shewed no regard either to his friends, relations, or acquaintance ; for the instrument of his revenge was fire, which knows no distinction of friend or foe, innocence or guilt.

Sylla carrying all before him, *Marius* was driven into the temple of *Vesta*, where he proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who would join him ; but the enemy coming on, he fled the city. *Sylla* then assembling the senate, had sentence of death passed on *Marius*, *Sulpitius*, and a few others. Though *Marius* escaped, *Sulpitius* was seized ; he was betrayed by one of his slaves, and immediately executed. For this service *Sylla* caused the slave to be enfranchised, and afterwards to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock. As for *Marius*, he set a price on his head.

Sylla, by these proceedings, highly offended the senate, who could not safely express their resentment : but the common people plainly shewed their displeasure by rejecting *Nonius* his nephew, and *Servius*, one of his friends, who were candidates for the consulship, and naming in their stead two others, whose promotion they imagined would give him great uneasiness. *Sylla* however pretended to be well satisfied, and told them, he with joy saw the people, by his means, restored to the full liberty of acting as they pleased.

pleased. To pacify them, he created *Lucius Cinna*, one of the adverse party, consul, having first bound him by oath to be true to his interest: for *Cinna* taking a stone in his hand, ascended the Capitol, and having taken a solemn oath, wished that if he did not prove faithful to *Sylla*, he might be thrown out of the city, as he threw that stone out of his hand; and then threw it away in the presence of the people. Yet *Sylla* had no sooner entered on his office, than he began a prosecution against him, and appointed *Virginus*, one of the tribunes, to be his accuser; but *Sylla* leaving him, and his court of judicature, set sail with his army against *Mithridates*.

In the mean time that prince, who was then at *Pergamus*, was distressed by many supposed omens; in particular, a figure of *Victory*, which was to descend, and place a crown on his head, at his entering the theatre, fell down, and the crown was broke to pieces. This circumstance not only terrified the people, but discouraged *Mithridates* himself; though he had been so successful, that he had wrested *Asia* from the *Romans*, and driven *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes* out of their kingdoms of *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia*. From his court at *Pergamus*, he conferred riches, principalities and kingdoms on his friends. His eldest son reigned peaceably in *Pontus*, and in the territories of the *Bosphorus*, the inheritance of his ancestors. *Ariarathes*, his other son, was at the head of a powerful army,

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army, making a conquest of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. Among his other generals was *Archelaus*, who having a large fleet, was become master of the sea; and after subduing the *Cyclades*, with all the other islands lying within the promontory of *Malea*, and even *Eubœa*, had at last taken *Athens*, and from thence made excursions as far as *Thessaly*, obliging all the cities of *Greece* to revolt from the *Romans*, meeting with no opposition till he came to *Chæronea*. There *Brutius Sura*, a man of great abilities and distinguished bravery, opposed this impetuous torrent, and having defeated *Archelaus* in three battles, drove him out of *Greece*, and forced him to retire to his ships. But having received orders to give place to *Sylla*, he quitted *Boeotia*.

At *Sylla's* arrival, all the cities of *Greece* submitted to him, except *Athens*, he therefore marched thither with all his forces, and besieged the *Piræus*, erecting batteries of all kinds, and trying every manner of assault. At last being in want of timber, he supplied himself from the sacred groves, and by cutting down the fine walks of the *Academy* and *Lycæum*. Money being also wanted for the expense of the war, he had recourse to the sacred treasures of the temples, and accordingly sent for the richest and most precious offerings to *Epidaurus* and *Olympia*. He also sent *Caphis*, one of his friends, to *Delphi*, for the treasures dedicated to *Apollo* in that temple; but *Caphis*, on his arrival at that city, with
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tears bewailed to the *Amphictyons* the necessity he was under. At that instant some among them pretended to hear the sound of *Apollo's* lyre in the innermost part of the temple: when *Caphis*, either really believing it to be true, or being desirous to strike a religious awe into *Sylla*, sent him an account of what had happened: but *Sylla* laughing at his simplicity, returned for answer, He was surprized that *Caphis* should not know that music was a sign of joy, and not of anger; and therefore he had nothing to do, but boldly take the treasure which the god so cheerfully offered him.

Sylla was indeed extremely desirous of becoming master of the once celebrated city of *Athens*, and this desire was perhaps encreas'd by the scurrilous jests which the tyrant *Aristion* daily uttered from the walls. This *Aristion* was a compound of lewdness and cruelty; the very sink of the vices of his master *Mithridates*. Thus this fine, this ancient city, was now reduced to the last extremity by an inhuman tyrant, who afflicted it like a mortal disease: for, while the inhabitants were forced to live on the herbs and roots they found about the citadel, and even on sodden shoe-leather and oil bags, he wallowed in luxury, and his whole employment was revelling, dancing, and insulting the *Romans*. The priests and senators going to him in a body, entreated him to have compassion on the city, and obtain a capitulation; but he dispersed them by a flight of arrows. At length,

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length, with much difficulty, he was persuaded to send two or three of his drunken companions to treat with *Sylla*, who perceiving that they only made a pompous declamation, without offering any thing to the purpose, replied, " You may return, my friends, and take your speeches back with you. I was not sent hither by the *Romans* to improve my learning, but to chastise the rebellious."

In the mean while *Sylla* was informed, that some old men were overheard blaming the tyrant for not securing a particular part of the wall which the *Romans* might attack with success. Upon this he went to view the place by night, and finding it assailable, instantly made the attack, and having levelled a part of the wall, about the dead of night entered the breach in a most dreadful manner, to the sound of a prodigious number of trumpets and cornets, and amidst the shouts of a licentious army, let loose to rapine and murder, who with their drawn swords in their hands, dispersed themselves through the streets. There is no account of the number slain: but to pass by the slaughter committed in other parts of the city, the blood spilt in the Forum only, covered the whole Ceramicus, as far as the gate *Dipylum*, and some say it ran through the gate, and overflowed the suburb. Though such vast multitudes were slain by the soldiers, at least an equal number of the best citizens, reduced to despair by the miseries of their country, and expecting no mercy from *Sylla*,
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slew themselves. At length, partly by the mediation of *Medus* and *Calliphen*, two *Athenian* exiles, who prostrated themselves at *Sylla's* feet, and partly from the intercession of some *Roman* senators in his camp, he put a stop to his cruelty, saying, "I forgive the many for the sake of a few; the living for the dead."

The tyrant having fled to the citadel, was besieged there, and held out a considerable time, till he was forced to surrender for want of water: but it is remarkable, that the very hour when he was made prisoner, the sky, which had long been clear and serene, was suddenly overcast, and the rain fell in such plenty, that the citadel was overflowed. *Sylla* soon after made himself master of the *Piræus*, and burnt all the buildings there, and among the rest the arsenal, which was esteemed a master-piece of architecture.

In the mean time *Mithridates's* generals marching from *Thrace* and *Macedon*, with 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and ninety armed chariots, *Sylla* immediately decamped, and quitting a country so barren, that it was unable to subsist an army even in time of peace, went to meet the enemy in *Bœotia*: he was besides in pain for *Hortensius*, a brave and expert commander, who was marching to join him with a strong reinforcement out of *Thessaly*: but the Barbarians had seized the passes. *Hortensius* however escaped by going a different way, and joined *Sylla* at *Patroni*. Being thus united, they posted themselves

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on a fertile hill, planted with trees, in the plains of *Elateia*.

While they lay thus encamped, their number appeared to be very contemptible; for they did not consist of more than 1500 horse, and 15,000 foot: but the enemy drawing up their troops, covered the plain with their horses, chariots, and armed troops: while the pomp and splendor of their appearance contributed not a little to strike terror into the *Romans*: for the brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their *Median* and *Scythian* vests, intermixed with the glittering of brass and polished steel, seemed as they advanced, to fill the air with a gleam like lightening, and so terrified the *Romans*, that they kept close within their intrenchments; on which *Sylla* thought it unsafe to oblige them to fight while their minds were filled with such consternation. The contempt the enemy felt for the *Romans*, whom they treated with scoffs and insults, was followed by negligence and disorder among themselves. While a few continued in their trenches, the rest were scattered in quest of plunder, wandering several days journey from their camp; and it is said, that in these excursions they sacked the city of *Lebadia*, and destroyed *Panopeia*, without any orders from their generals.

Sylla enraged at seeing all the neighbouring cities destroyed, kept his soldiers to hard labour, employing them in turning the course

of the river *Cephisus*, and in drawing trenches, exempting none from work, that being weary of this laborious employment, they might rather chuse to hazard an engagement. This happened according to his wishes; for when they had been toiling three days together, *Sylla* passing by to inspect the works, they all called out to him to lead them against the enemy. On which he replied, If you are in earnest, and have really a mind to fight, go take your arms, and possess yourselves of that post, pointing to a sharp and craggy mountain, separated from Mount *Edylium* by the river *Asfus*, which runs between them, and at the foot of the mountain falls into the *Cephisus*; the rapidity of the river rendering that ridge a safe and commodious post for an encampment. The soldiers obeyed, and behaving with vigour and activity, soon became masters of that post.

Archelaus, on being thus repulsed, removed his camp, and extended his forces to *Chæroneæ*. On which the *Chæroneans* in *Sylla's* army entreating him not to abandon that city to the enemy, *Sylla* sent thither one of his legions, with all the *Chæroneans* he had with him.

Sylla being now daily encouraged by reports, prophecies, and promises of victory, which he received from *Lebodia*, and the cave of *Trophonius* *, he passed the *Iffus*, marched to

* The reader may find a curious account of the cave of *Trophonius*, and the manner of consulting

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to *Edylium*, and encamped opposite to *Arche-la*, who had strongly intrenched himself between the mountains *Acantium* and *Edylium*. After staying in that camp only one day, he left *Muræna* with a legion and two cohorts to harass and alarm the enemy, and marched with the rest of his troops towards *Chæronea*, in order to join the forces there, and to take a view of Mount *Thurion*, a craggy eminence, on which a part of the enemy's forces was encamped. On *Sylla's* approach to *Chæronea*, the tribune who had been sent to defend the city, met him at the head of his troops, and presented him a crown of laurel. This he accepted, and having kindly saluted the soldiers, exhorted them to behave with resolution. In the mean while *Homolichus* and *Anaxidamus*, two men of *Chæronea*, made him an offer of dislodging the enemy from the post of *Thurium*, with only a small body to assist them; there being a back-way that led to the top of the mountain, from whence it was easy to charge the Barbarians; to kill them with stones from above, or to force them down into the plain.

Sylla dispatched these men with the party they desired: in the mean time he drew up his men, and placing the cavalry in the two wings, took the command of the right, leaving the left to *Muræna*. *Gallus* and *Hor-*

sulting the oracle in the *New Pantheon*, by Mr. *Beyse*.

tenfius his lieutenants, who were placed with a body of reserve in the rear, took poffeffion of the hills, to watch the motions of the enemy, who were obferved to extend their wings, confifting of an infinite number of horfe and all their light infantry, which being able to move with great fpeed and agility, were intended to take a large circuit, and inclofe the *Romans*. In the mean time, the two *Charoneans*, with a party commanded by *Ericius*, marched unobferved to the top of *Thurium*; where the Barbarians no fooner difcovered them, than they fled in fuch confufion, than they fell foul on each other; for they did not dare to ftand the charge of the *Romans*, who drove furiously at them from the upper ground, but hurried headlong downwards, fome falling on their own fpears, while others were overtaken by the fwords of the enemy; thus about 3000 were flain on the mountain; and fome of the fugitives falling into the hands of *Muræna*, in the left wing, were cut to pieces. Thofe who reach'd the camp, threw themfelves on the main body with fuch precipitation, that all the ranks were feized with terror and confufion; of which *Sylla* taking advantage, attacked them with his right wing fo fuddenly as to difappoint the fervice of their armed chariots. The main body of both armies being engaged, the Barbarians on one fide charged with their long pikes, and with their fhields locked clofe together, ftrove to maintain their ground. The *Romans* on the other

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side threw their javelins, and with great fury attacked them sword in hand, endeavouring to close with them, by parrying their pikes. But their battalions were so close and deep, that the *Romans* were unable to break their ranks till the archers and slingers in the second line discharged showers of darts and stones, which at last forced them to give way. While *Archelaus* was extending the right wing to encompass the *Romans*, *Hortensius* rushed down with his cohorts in order to charge his flank; but *Archelaus* suddenly wheeling about with 2000 horse, *Hortensius* overpowered by numbers, withdrew to the upper grounds, where, while far from the main body, he was rounded by the enemy. *Sylla* hearing this, flew to his relief with some troops from the right wing, which had not yet engaged. When *Archelaus* perceiving the dust raised by these troops, and guessing his design, suddenly turned to the right wing, in hopes of surprizing it, when without a commander. At the same instant *Taxiles*, with the *Chalcaspidæ*, attacked *Muræna*, when a cry coming from both places, and echoing through the mountains, *Sylla* stood in suspense which way to move; but after a short hesitation, he detached *Hortensius* with four cohorts, to the assistance of *Muræna*, and commanding the fifth to follow him, hastened back to the right wing, which he found engaged without him, and upon his appearance, immediately exerted themselves with such vigour, that they put the enemy to flight. *Sylla* then hastened to the assistance of *Muræna*, when finding that

he had overthrown *Taxiles*, he joined him in the pursuit. A great number of Barbarians were slain on the spot, and many more cut to pieces, as they were endeavouring to escape to the camp; and of such infinite numbers of the enemy, 10,000 only got to *Chalcis*; while the loss of the *Romans* was so inconsiderable, that *Sylla* says only fourteen soldiers were missing, and that even two of them returned in the evening*.

In remembrance of this victory *Sylla* erected trophies to *Mars*, to *Venus*, and to *Victory*; and also exhibited public shews at *Thebes*, where he caused a theatre to be erected for that purpose near the fountain of *Oedipus*: but as he had conceived an implacable hatred against the *Thebans*, he ordered that half of their territories should be consecrated to *Apollo Pythius*, and the *Olympian Jupiter*; and the revenue applied to make good the gold and silver he had taken from their temples.

Sylla being now informed that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was made consul, and that having

* Mr. *Cr  vier* justly observes, that it is not easy to believe, that 100,000 men should suffer themselves to be put to the sword, without killing more than twelve of the enemy; and adds, should it be true, as was suspected, that *Arche-laous* betrayed his master, and held intelligence with the *Romans*, it would still be improbable; and it is more natural to think, that *Sylla*, who was fond of being thought fortunate, has here been more studious of the marvellous than of paying a just regard to truth.

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crossed the *Ionian* sea with an army, he was marching to oppose him; he resolved to return towards *Thessaly*; but had hardly reached the city of *Melitea*, before he was informed, that the country he had left was over-run by an army no less powerful than the former. *Dorilaus* had arrived at *Chalcis* with a numerous fleet, on board of which were 80,000 of the best troops *Mithridates* had in his army, with which he had made a sudden incursion into *Bæotia*, in hopes of bringing *Sylla* to a battle: for he could not be persuaded by *Archelaus*, that it was possible so many should fall in the last battle without treachery. *Sylla* however returning with the utmost expedition, *Dorilaus*, after some slight skirmishes, was the first who declared against hazarding a battle. However, the extensive plain of *Orchomenus*, in which they encamped, inspired *Archelaus* with fresh courage, on account of the great advantages it gave an army that had a numerous cavalry. Both being encamped near each other, *Sylla* began to draw trenches across the plain, in order, if possible, to force the enemy into the fens. When the Barbarians falling furiously on those employed in these works routed them, and the forces sent to cover them. Which *Sylla* perceiving, leap'd from his horse, and snatching one of the ensigns, rushed through the fugitive soldiers towards the enemy, crying aloud, " For my part, I think " it glorious to fall here; but as for you, O " *Romans!* when you shall be asked where " you abandoned your general, remember " you

“ you say, it was here at *Orchomenus*.” The folders instantly rallied, and two cohorts advancing to his succour from the right wing, he charged with fury, and repulsed the enemy. Then retiring a little back, and refreshing his men, he advanced again in order to block up the enemy’s camp; but they again sallied out in better order than before; when the archers being pressed by the *Romans*, and wanting room to use their bows, took their arrows by handfuls, and using them as swords, killed many of the *Romans*; but in a little time they were driven back to their camp. The next morning, as soon as it was light, *Sylla* again led his men towards the enemy’s camp to continue the trenches: the enemy once more drew out to give him battle; but he totally routed them, and took their camp. On this occasion the marshes were filled with blood, and a neighbouring lake with dead bodies.

Cinna and *Carbo* in the mean time exercised the greatest violence and injustice to the most distinguished personages in *Rome*, many of whom fled from thence to seek security in *Sylla*’s camp; so that he had soon a kind of senate assembled about him. *Metella* with her children, having also escaped, brought him word that his house in the city, and his villas had been burnt by his enemies, and pressed him to hasten to the relief of his friends. *Sylla* could neither think of deferring his revenge, nor of leaving unfinished the war against *Mithridates*. But while he was under this dilemma, a merchant of *De-*

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lium arrived at the camp, with a secret commission from *Archelaus*, the king's general, when *Sylla* liking the proposals, desired a speedy conference with *Archelaus* in person. They met at sea, when *Archelaus* beginning first, proposed that *Sylla* should quit his pretensions to *Asia* and *Pontus*, and instantly return to extinguish the civil war that was breaking out at *Rome*, offering him in the king's name to supply him with men, money, and ships. *Sylla* answered by desiring him to quit the service of *Mithridates*; to cause himself to be proclaimed king in his stead; to become the friend and ally of the *Romans*, and to deliver up the fleet to him. *Archelaus* expressed his abhorrence of such treason; on which *Sylla* thus proceeded, "Doeſt thou, "*Archelaus*, the slave, or if thou pleaseſt, the "favourite of a Barbarian prince; doeſt thou "ſcruple any thing diſhonourable to promote thy intereſt, and yet preſumeſt to "mention treason to me, to *Sylla*, a *Roman* "general? as if thou wert not that *Arche'aus* "who at *Chæronea* fled with a handful of "men, the wretched remains of 120,000; "who hid himſelf for two days in the marſhes "of *Orebomenus*, and left them choaked up "with heaps of carcaſes." *Archelaus* upon receiving this reſolute answer, deſired *Sylla* in a ſuppliant manner to conſent to a peace with *Mithridates*, on which it was concluded on the following conditions: That *Mithridates* ſhould quit *Asia* and *Paphlagonia*, reſtore *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and *Bithynia* to
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Nicomedes; pay the *Romans* 2000 talents *, and deliver up seventy of his ships with all their rigging: that on the other hand, *Sylla* should confirm to that prince all the rest of his dominions, and declare him a confederate of the *Romans*.

Both having agreed to these conditions, *Sylla* marched with his army through *Thessaly* and *Macedonia* to the *Hellepont*, taking *Archelaus* with him, whom he treated with great respect; and on his being taken dangerously ill at *Larissa*, *Sylla* halted there on his account, and took as much care of him as if he had been his colleague. This raised a suspicion, that the battle of *Charonea* had not been fairly won; an opinion that seemed justified by *Sylla's* releasing all the prisoners who were known to be in favour with *Mithridates*; but what most confirmed this suspicion, was a grant of 10,000 acres of land to *Archelaus*, in *Eubœa*. But *Sylla* clears himself from these aspersions in his memoirs.

While *Sylla* continued at *Larissa*, he received ambassadors from *Mithridates*, who came to inform him, that their master had ratified all the articles except those which related to the surrender of *Paphlagonia*, and his giving up the ships. *Sylla* gave them a very haughty answer, which so stunned them, that they were unable to reply: but *Archelaus* seizing *Sylla* by the hand, entreated him with tears to be pacified, desiring that he

* About 300,000 l. sterling.

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might be sent to *Mithridates*, promising that he would either prevail on him to consent to all the articles, or put an end to his own life. *Sylla* consented, and sent him away; after which he ravaged the country of the *Medians*, and then returning into *Macedonia*, *Archelaus* met him at *Philippi*, and let him know, that every thing was determined according to his desire, and that *Mithridates* earnestly desired an interview. They met at *Dardanus* in the country of *Troas*, to which *Mithridates* came with 200 galleys, 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and a great number of armed chariots: but *Sylla* was attended by only four cohorts and 200 horse. On their meeting, *Mithridates* offered him his hand; on which *Sylla* asking if he consented to a peace on the conditions agreed upon between him and *Archelaus*, and the king making no reply, he told him that the suppliant ought to speak first. Upon this *Mithridates* began a speech, in which he attributed the war partly to the gods, and partly to the *Romans* themselves. When *Sylla* interrupting him, said, That he had long since heard from others, and was now convinced, that *Mithridates* was an able speaker, who wanted not specious pretences to adorn such foul and unjust practices. He then charged him with the many outrages he had committed, and asked him again if he was willing to ratify the treaty; when *Mithridates* answering in the affirmative, *Sylla* ran up to him, embraced and kissed him; then introducing *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*, the two kings, produced

produced a reconciliation between them and *Mithridates*, who having delivered up to *Sylla* the seventy ships, and furnished him with 500 archers, sailed for *Pontus*.

Sylla soon found that the army was far from being pleased with this peace; for the soldiers could not bear to think that *Mithridates*, who in one day had caused 150,000 *Romans* to be massacred in *Asia*, should be suffered to sail home loaded with spoils: but *Sylla* observed in his own justification, that he only agreed to the peace because he was unable to oppose both *Fimbria* and *Mithridates*, if they should have acted in conjunction against him.

Soon after *Sylla* marching against *Fimbria*, who lay under the walls of *Thyatira*, encamped pretty near him; but while his troops were entrenching themselves, *Fimbria's* soldiers came to them without their arms, and saluting them in a friendly manner, cheerfully assisted them at their work, which *Fimbria* observing, and dreading *Sylla* as an irreconcilable enemy, he put an end to his life. *Sylla* now fined *Asia* 20,000 talents *, and besides, gave up the inhabitants to the insolence and rapaciousness of his soldiers, who were quartered upon them.

At length *Sylla* set sail from *Ephesus* with his whole fleet, and three days after arrived at *Athens*, where he seized for his own use the library of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, in which were

* About three millions sterling.

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most of the works of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and caused it to be removed to *Rome*. During his stay at *Athens*, he was seized with a painful numbness in his feet, on which account he was conveyed by sea to *Ædepsus*, where he made use of the hot baths, and spent whole days together in the company of musicians, comedians, and dancers. One day, when he was walking on the beach, some fishermen made him a present of a number of fine fish; when asking of what country they were, he was told that they were natives of *Alæ*; "What, cried he, are any of the *Alæans* living?" For after the battle of *Orclomenus*, he, while in pursuit of the enemy, had destroyed three cities in *Bæotia*, *Alæ*, *Larymna*, and *Anthedon*. Hence the poor men were at that question struck with terror, which *Sylla* observing, told them with a smile, that they might go away in peace, for they had brought mediators with them whose intercession was not to be resisted. From that time all the *Alæans* took courage, and those who had been dispersed returned home.

Sylla having marched through *Thessaly* and *Macedon* down to the sea-coast, prepared to transport his army in 12,000 vessels from *Dyrachium* to *Brundisium*. However, when he was ready to embark, he began to be apprehensive that his soldiers would be no sooner landed than they would disband themselves, and return to their respective homes: but they all came and swore to stand by him to

the last, and to commit no disorders in *Italy*, if they could help it; and, finding he was in want of a large sum of money, they taxed themselves according to their abilities, and brought him what was collected. *Sylla* however would not receive this generous gift; but thanking them, exhorted them to behave well, and embarked.

Sylla, as he himself tells us, went now to oppose fifteen generals of the contrary party, and 440 cohorts *. But the gods assured him of success by the most evident tokens: for, as he was sacrificing at his first landing at *Tarentum*, the liver seemed to have a crown of laurel imprest upon it †. Thus *Marcus Lucullus*, one of *Sylla's* commanders, when at *Fidentia*, placed such confidence in the alacrity and ardour of his troops, that he ventured with only sixteen cohorts to face the enemy, who amounted to fifty: but, as many of his soldiers were unarmed, he delayed the onset. But while he thus stood in doubt, a gentle gale of wind arose, and bringing with it a quantity of flowers, scattered them on the army; and this adding to their former

* That is 220,000 men.

† It is well known, says *Mr. Dacier*, what artifices were used by the priests to imprint on the livers of the victims what figures they pleased. These figures the priest traced in his hand, and then pressing it close on the liver, easily made the impression upon it, while it was yet warm and pliant.

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eagerness, they charged the enemy with such fierceness, that they defeated them, killed 18,000 on the spot, and took their camp.

As *Sylla* was now surrounded with many numerous armies, he resolved to have recourse to art, and therefore invited *Scipio* the consul, to treat of peace, who readily embraced the offer. They had several meetings, while *Sylla*, under different pretences, caused delays; during which his soldiers, who were as well versed in the arts of inveigling as their general, entering the enemy's quarters, engaged some by money, and others by promises, flattery, and persuasion; so that at last, when *Sylla*, with twenty cohorts, drew near, they, to the number of forty cohorts, came forth to salute him, leaving *Scipio* alone in his tent.

Afterwards *Marius* the younger, with eighty-five cohorts, offered battle to *Sylla*, who having dreamed the night before that he saw *Marius* the elder, who had been dead five or six years, advising his son to beware of the following day, was extremely desirous of having it decided before night, and therefore sent for *Dolabella*, who was encamped at some distance, to come and join him. *Marius* posting his army between the two camps, cut off their communication, on which *Sylla's* troops advanced to dislodge them; and when they were wearied with this service, a violent shower of rain falling, added to their fatigue. The officers now entreated *Sylla* to defer the battle, on account of the soldiers

being quite spent, and with great difficulty prevailed; on which he gave orders for an entrenchment to be cast up before his camp. But the soldiers had hardly begun to break the ground, when *Marius*, at the head of his troops, came up to the very works, and attacked the troops thus employed, with the hopes, that in their present disorder he should easily disperse them. But *Sylla's* soldiers inflamed with rage, stuck their javelins on the banks, and drawing their swords, rushed shouting on the enemy, who were soon routed, and great numbers of them cut off in their flight. *Marius* himself fled to *Præneste*, where the gates being shut, he fastened himself to a rope, let down from the walls for that purpose, and was drawn up into the city. Some authors however say, that *Marius* was so far from being in the battle, that he was not even within the noise of it; but being spent with fatigue and watching, was asleep under a tree, and that his men, when put to flight, could hardly awake him. *Sylla* says, that on this occasion he lost only twenty-three men, and that the loss of the enemy amounted to 20,000 slain, and 8000 taken prisoners.

Sylla's lieutenants, *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, and *Servilius*, were no less successful; for with little loss they cut off great numbers of the enemy; on which the consul *Papirius Carbo*, who was the principal support of the contrary party, deserted his army in the night, and going on board a ship, escaped to *Libya*.

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Sylla had now a new and very dangerous enemy: *Telestinus*, the *Samnite*, having assembled a considerable body of forces, and being joined by *Lamponius*, a *Lucanian*, marched to the relief of *Marius*, who was besieged at *Prænestè*: but hearing that *Sylla* was advancing to attack him in front, and that *Pompey* was ready to fall upon his rear, he decamped in the night, and marched directly to *Rome*, which he might easily have entered at once, as it was incapable of defence: but when he was within ten furlongs of the *Col-line* gate, he was satisfied with remaining that night under the walls, valuing himself on his having outwitted both *Sylla* and *Pompey*, not doubting but that the end would be answerable to so glorious a beginning. At break of day all the youth of the first rank making an unsuccessful rally, many of them were slain, particularly *Appius Claudius*, a person of great virtue, and of a noble family. *Rome* was now in the utmost consternation; a general terror had seized the citizens, and the streets were filled with the shrieks and lamentations of women, as if the city had been already taken, and they in the hands of the enemy.

While affairs were in this situation, *Balbus*, who had been detached by *Sylla*, arrived at the head of 700 horse, he having rode hard, and halted only while the horses were rubbed down. He immediately attacked the enemy. At that instant *Sylla* appeared; and those who advanced first, had no sooner taken a short refreshment, than he drew them up in

order of battle. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* earnestly entreated him to delay the engagement, and not to expose his harrassed and fatigued troops: advising him to consider, that he had not now a *Corbo*, or a *Marius* to deal with, but the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, two of the most warlike nations in all *Italy*, and the professed enemies of the *Romans*. But instead of listening to them, *Sylla* ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, though it was then about four in the afternoon. In this engagement, which was the sharpest known in this war, the wing commanded by *Crassus* had greatly the advantage; but the other could hardly maintain its ground. Thither *Sylla* hastened, mounted on a white horse, exceeding fleet: two of the enemy knowing him, unperceived by *Sylla*, levelled their darts at him; but his groom observing them, gave his horse a lash, and he sprung forwards, by which means the darts only grazed on his horse's tail, and fell at some distance. *Sylla* entreated some, and endeavoured to stop others by force: but finding all to no purpose, and that the left wing was entirely broken, he fled with the rest to the camp, after having lost many of his friends, and several of the most considerable officers in the army. *Rome* was now given up for lost, and those who had been left behind to besiege *Marius* in *Præneste*, were on the point of raising the siege. But late at night some messengers arrived in the camp from *Crassus*, to desire *Sylla* to send him and his soldiers something

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thing for supper, he having defeated the enemy, and pursued them as far as *Antemna*, where he was now encamped.

Sylla being informed that most of the enemy fell in the action, marched the next morning as soon as it was light to *Antemna*, and upon his approach 3000 of the enemy sent to beg for quarter, which he promised, on condition, that before they surrendered, they should do some considerable mischief to those they left behind: when relying on his word, they fell upon their former comrades, and slew many of them. But *Sylla* having assembled all that remained, as well of the 3000 as of the rest, amounting in all to 6000, confined them in the Circus, and then summoned the senate to meet in the temple of *Bellona*, where he was beginning his speech, when his soldiers, who had before received their orders, began the dreadful massacre of these 6000 unhappy wretches. Their outcries, which were exceeding loud, were heard by the senators, who were filled with terror; but the monster *Sylla* continuing his speech with the same unconcern with which he had begun, bid them attend to what he was saying, and not concern themselves about what was doing without doors; the noise being only made by some offenders, whom he had ordered to be chastised.

This action convinced the most unthinking, that they had only changed the tyrant. *Marinus,*

rius, indeed, was naturally morose and cruel, dispositions that were only heightened by power: but *Sylla* on his first rising to grandeur, had given hopes that he would be the friend of the nobility, and the protector of the people. He had been inclined to mirth and good humour, and was of a temper so compassionate, that he had been often seen to weep, even on slight occasions. His sudden inhumanity therefore seemed to cast a blemish on exalted honours, as if they were inconsistent with every degree of mildness and benignity, and capable of transforming the most amiable dispositions into pride, arrogance and inhumanity. But this, instead of being a change of nature, might possibly be only a discovery of the secret depravity that lay concealed, till it had countenance and protection from honours and authority.

As *Sylla* was bent on slaughter, he now on his entering *Rome*, filled that city with innumerable murders. Even many sell a sacrifice to the resentment of his friends and domestics, whom he allowed to sate their revenge in the blood of those they hated. *Caius Metellus*, a young *Roman*, had the courage to say to him in full senate, “ When shall we have an end of our calamities? “ we do not intercede for those thou hast resolved to destroy; we only desire thee to “ free from their uneasiness those whom thou “ hast determined to save?” *Sylla* answered, “ That he knew not whom he should spare.” “ Why then, returned *Metellus*, name those “ thou

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"thou hast determined to destroy." *Sylla* first proscribed eighty citizens, when seeing that their death raised a general indignation against him, he gave them a day's respite; then proscribed 220 more, and the same number the following day. Soon after making a speech to the people, he told them, he had proscribed as many as he could think of at present, and as for those he had forgot, they should be proscribed afterwards.

But what is, if possible, still more horrid, if any man afforded shelter to a person proscribed, his humanity was punished with death, though he had saved his father, his brother, or his son: while the assassin, tho' it was a slave who murdered his master, or a son, his father, was rewarded with two talents. He even declared infamous the children and grand-children of those whom he proscribed, and confiscated their estates.

These proscriptions were not confined to *Rome* alone, but extended to every town in *Italy*, where neither the temples of the gods, nor the house of a friend, or a father, afforded the least security: the husband was butchered in the embraces of his wife, and the son in the arms of his mother. The greatest number perished without having incurred hatred, or resentment, merely on account of their riches; thus people said, such a man was killed by his house; that other by his hot baths, and that by his garden. Thus *Quintus Aurelius*, a quiet and peaceable man, who thought it his duty to
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sympathize in the distresses of others, coming to the Forum, and seeing his name in the list of the proscribed, cried, "Alas! my *Alban* " estate has informed against me," and he had not gone far, before he was murdered by a ruffian, sent for that purpose.

In the mean while *Prænestæ* being taken, *Marius* died without falling into the hands of his enemies*. At *Sylla's* first coming to that city, he proceeded to try each person; but finding that would take up too much time, he shut them up all together in one place, to the number of 12,000 men, and gave a general order for their being massacred, excepting only one of the inhabitants, which was the person in whose house he lodged. But the generous man crying with the greatest magnanimity, "I scorn to " owe my safety to the murderer of my coun- " try," mixed among the other victims, and died with his fellow-citizens. It is remarkable, that *Catiline*, who had murdered his own brother at the beginning of the civil war, now desiring *Sylla* to put him among the proscribed, as if he were still alive, he readily consented, and in return for this

* He endeavoured to escape through a subterranean passage; but finding that soldiers were posted on every side to apprehend him, and that it was impossible to avoid them, he commanded one of his slaves to kill him, which he immediately did.

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favour, *Catiline* murdered *Marcus Marius* *, who was of the contrary party, and bringing his head publickly into the Forum, presented it to *Sylla*, who was sitting on the tribunal. Then went and washed his hands in the holy water, placed at the gate of *Apollo's* temple †, which stood near the Forum.

Sylla

* *Sylla* had condemned *Marcus Marius Gracidianus*, to be sacrificed on the tomb of *Catulus*, who was a man of great lenity, that would have been very far from desiring such a revenge ; but this was by way of reprisal for the death of *Lucius Cæsar*, whom the contrary faction had murdered some years before on the tomb of *Quintus Valerius*. Hence the unfortunate *Gracidianus*, who was almost adored by the *Roman* people, was dragged through the streets of *Rome* to the other side of the *Tiber*, and whipped with rods by executioners all the way. When he came to the place of execution, *Catiline* had the infernal cruelty to cause his eyes to be pulled out, his hands and tongue to be cut off, and the bones of his thighs to be broken ; and having tormented him in this manner, in every part of his body, put an end to his punishment and life, by cutting off his head. A senator, who was present at the horrid spectacle fainting away, was killed on the spot.

† Vessels of holy water were placed at the gates of the heathen temples ; in which those who

Sylla now declared himself dictator, and thus revived an office, that had been disused for 120 years. He procured an act of oblivion to be passed in his own favour, and another vesting him with the power of life and death, of confiscations, transplanting of colonies, of building and demolishing cities, of taking away, and bestowing kingdoms at pleasure. The confiscated estates he put up to public sale; and spent the revenues of whole cities and provinces on lewd women, musicians, mimics, and freed-men; some of whom he even forced women to marry contrary to their inclinations. *Lucretius Opella*, who had besieged *Marius* in *Prænestæ*, putting up for the consulship, he ordered him to desert: but presuming on the favour of the people, he still persisted, on which *Sylla* commanded a centurion to go and kill him, and sitting on his tribunal in the temple of *Cæstor* and *Pollux* beheld from thence the murder. The people however seizing the centurion, hurried him before *Sylla*, calling for justice on the murderer: but *Sylla* ordered them to be silent, and to release him, boldly telling them, that he had acted by his orders.

Though *Sylla's* triumph was exceeding magnificent, from the richness and the novelty of the spoils; yet it was rendered

who entered, washed their hands by way of purification. They likewise sprinkled it on the assembly, to cleanse the people from their impurities,

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more splendid and agreeable by the procession of the exiles: several of the most eminent and powerful of the citizens, following the chariot of *Sylla*, crowned with garlands, and calling him *Saviour and Father*, by whose means they were restored to their country, their wives and children. After this solemnity, when the time came for him to give an account of his actions in a public assembly, he was as punctual in enumerating the fortunate events of the war, as his own military exploits. He chose the surname of *Felix*; and his wife bringing forth twins, he named the male *Favstus*, and the female *Fausta*, or *Fortunate*. The strongest proof of his placing the greatest confidence in his good fortune, is, that after having committed so many horrid murders, and produced so many monstrous innovations in the state, he ventured to resign his authority, and restore the liberties of the people; after which he exposed his person publicly in the Forum, and walked about as a private man.

Sylla at length devoted the tenth of his substance as an offering to *Hercules*, and on that occasion made magnificent entertainments for the people, in which there was such a profusion of provisions, that every day great quantities of the fragments were forced to be thrown into the *Tiber*; and the wine he gave them was forty years old. A few months after he entertained the people with a show of gladiators. The theatre was not then divided.

into separate lodges, but the men and women sat promiscuously together. It then happened that *Valeria*, a very beautiful young lady of the first quality, who had just been divorced from her husband, came behind *Sylla*, and resting gently on him, took a little of the nap of his robe, and returned to her seat; when observing that he seemed to wonder at her behaviour, she cried, "I meant no harm, Sir; and was only desirous of partaking a little of your fortune." *Sylla* seemed highly delighted with this answer, and sent privately to find out her name, family and character, and soon after married her; yet still kept company with actors, actresses, and singers, drinking with them day and night. At length he perceived that he had an ulcer within his body, and at last his flesh putrified, and produced such a quantity of lice, that tho' many persons were employed day and night in destroying them, yet they increased faster than they could be removed; and tho' he went many times in the day into the water to clean his body, they still increased, and his baths, basons, cloaths and food, were polluted by them.

Yet notwithstanding this dreadful disease, *Sylla* finished his memoirs but two days before his death; and even could not forbear intermeddling in public affairs: for the next day an information being brought him, that *Granius* the quaestor, delayed paying the

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sums due from him to the public, in hopes of being indemnified by *Sylla's* death, he sent for him into his chamber, where he ordered his servants to strangle him in his presence : but in the eagerness of passion, straining his voice, he broke his imposthume, and grew so weak and faint by the great quantity of blood he voided, that after having passed the night in violent pain, he died the next day*, leaving two young children by *Metella* ; and afterwards *Valeria* was delivered of a daughter, named *Posthuma*, on account of her being born after the death of her father.

A great concourse of people now assembled, and joined with *Lepidus*, the consul, to deprive his corpse of the accustomed solemnities ; but tho' *Pompey* was offended at being the only person among his friends whom *Sylla* had left out of his will, yet keeping off some by menaces, and others by kind words and entreaties, he caused him to be burnt on the funeral pile, and his ashes to be interred. His monument is in the *Campus Martius*, with an epitaph of his own composing, in which he says, that no friend of his ever did him so much good, or enemy so much harm, but he had returned both with usury.

If we compare the life of *Lyfander* with that of *Sylla*, we shall find, that they resembled each other in being the founders of

* This event happened in the 674th year of *Rome*, and the 78th before the Christian æra.

their own greatness; only *Lyfander* obtained his honours in peaceable times, by the consent of his fellow-citizens, without extorting any thing from them, or endeavouring to raise himself above the laws; but *Sylla* took advantage of the confusion of the times, when laws were established by fire and sword. *Lyfander* was employed in the greatest military commands, and the most important affairs of state, by a sober and well-disciplined commonwealth; he frequently delivered up his trust to his fellow-citizens, and as often received it again. On the other hand *Sylla*, when he had once obtained the command of the army, kept it for ten years together, sometimes as consul, sometimes as proconsul, and sometimes as dictator; but always as tyrant. Indeed *Lyfander* endeavoured to introduce a new form of government; however, he did not attempt it, like *Sylla*, by force of arms, but by persuasion; not by subverting the whole state at once, but by regulating the succession of the kings. They were both guilty of many acts of injustice and violence. *Lyfander* committed the most inhuman actions, to gratify his friends and creatures, and often dipped his hands in blood to render them kings and tyrants: but *Sylla* was sometimes cruel even to his friends; and because *Lucretius Ofella*, who had done him many services, put up for the consulship against his will, he caused him to be murdered in his sight.

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With respect to riches and pleasure, their behaviour was extremely different. *Lyfander*, in the full range of his power, kept at the greatest distance from intemperance, and was truly a *Spartan* in his life and manners: but neither the poverty of *Sylla's* youth, nor the gravity and decorum that so well becomes old age, could keep him within bounds; for while he was prescribing the best laws to the *Romans*, in relation to continence and sobriety, he himself was without reserve guilty of lewdness, and sunk in debauchery: by which he drained the city of its treasures. To supply his extravagancies, he sold to the cities in friendship and alliance with the *Romans*, the privilege of governing themselves by their own laws, and yet daily exposed the wealthiest and greatest families to public sale. How different was this from the conduct of *Lyfander*, who not only sent to *Sparta* the money and spoils he had taken, but even the presents that had been made him: but in this *Lyfander* did *Sparta* more harm, than *Sylla* did *Rome* by his rapine. For *Sylla*, who was himself a most profligate libertine, made the *Romans* sober and temperate; while *Lyfander*, by sending gold to *Sparta*, infected the *Lacedaemonians* with vices to which he himself was an utter stranger, and prepared the way for the destruction of that commonwealth.

As for military engagements, and the number of victories, *Sylla* had so much the advantage

vantage over *Lyfander*, that there is no room for comparison. We may conclude then with this observation, that *Sylla* performed more great actions, and *Lyfander* committed fewer crimes; the one deserves the pre-eminence in conduct and valour, and the other in abstinence and moderation.



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C I M O N was the son of *Miltiades* and *Hegysipyle*, daughter to *Olorus*, king of *Thrace*; and *Thucydides* the historian was his kinsman by his mother's side. *Miltiades* being sentenced to pay fifty talents * to the state, was cast into prison, and there died, leaving *Cimon* and his sister *Epinice* orphans, while very young. *Cimon* in his early life was riotous and dissolute, and he is even accused of having in his younger years, an incestuous commerce with his sister. However, it is certain, that he was afterwards passionately fond of his wife *Isodice*, and was deeply afflicted at her death.

T H

* About 11,250 l. sterling.

The other parts of his character are great and admirable: he was as daring as *Miltiades*, and not inferior to *Themistocles* in judgment: he equalled them both in discharging all the functions of a general, and far excelled them in the political part of government. He was handsome in his person, was tall, and had thick curled hair. He distinguished himself by his bravery in the battle of *Salamin* *; after which the *Athenians* were continually inspiring him with emulation, and rejoiced at seeing him apply to affairs of state: they soon raised him to the highest employments in the government; because they were disgusted with *Themistocles*, and charmed with *Cimon*'s mildness and candour.

When the *Persians* were driven out of *Greece*, the *Athenians* appointed *Cimon* commander of the fleet †. They had not yet the chief authority among the states of *Greece*, but were under the direction of *Pausanias* and the *Lacedaemonians*. *Cimon* began with encouraging his citizens to distinguish themselves by their good discipline and their valour; and afterwards, when *Pausanias* had formed the design of delivering up *Greece* to the king of *Persia*, *Cimon*, by affording protection to those whom he had injured, insensibly robbed

* In that naval engagement *Themistocles* defeated the *Persians*. See the life of *Themistocles*, vol. i. of this work.

† This was in the 470th year before Christ.

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him of the authority he had possessed among the *Greeks*.

It is said that when *Pausanias* was at *Byzantium* *, he became in love with a young lady of a noble family in that city, named *Cleonice*, on which her parents dreading his cruelty, abandoned her to his embraces. *Cleonice* had ordered the servants to put out the lights, and approaching the bed silently and in the dark, unhappily stumbled upon the extinguished lamp which she overturned. When *Pausanias*, who had fallen asleep, awaking with the noise, imagined an assassin was coming to murder him, and snatching up a poniard that lay by him, stabbed her to the heart. This accident filled him with horror; and he imagined that he was continually haunted by her spectre, which incessantly uttered these words:

*Go, meet thy doom, the just reward of guilt;
For vengeance never sleeps when blood is spilt.*

This action filled all the allies with indignation, and therefore joining their forces to those commanded by *Cimon*, they besieged him in *Byzantium*: but he escaped from

* *Byzantium* was situated in the same spot on which *Constantinople* now stands. The reader may see a particular description of this city in *The World Display'd*, vol. xi. p. 183, &c.

thence,

thence, and went to *Heraclea* *, where was a temple in which the spirits of the dead were raised in order to discover future events. Here he solemnly invoked *Clconice*, and entreated her to be reconciled; on which she appeared to him, and said, *When thou arrivest at Sparta, thou shalt be freed from all thy misfortunes.* Hereby obscurely foretelling his death †.

Cimon

* *Heraclea*, a sea port town of *Turky* in *Europe*, which once gave law to *Byzantium*, though it is now subject to it. It is situated on the *Prepontis*, sixty miles south-west of *Constantinople*. It was then a great city; and its amphitheatre, of which there are only some ruins remaining, was esteemed one of the wonders of the world. The reader may see an account of the present state of this city in *The World displayed*, vol. xi. p. 179.

† The bulk of mankind has been superstitious in all ages, which has given room for the artful and the avaritious frequently to take advantage of the weakness and folly of their fellow-creatures. Whoever has read the account of the ancient oracles in the *New Pantheon*, by Mr. *Boyse*, cannot have the least doubt that this raising of the dead was an imposition contrived and managed by the priests of the temple, and that *Pausanias* was deceived by a pretended spectre; which, by the direction of the priests, gave an answer so dark, that whatever

Cimon having joined by the *Thrace*, where *Eion*, and *infel* hood. Having shut them up, reduced and dr adjacent countr plied with p sieged were *Butes*, who thinking h with honour self, his frie mon flame. *Eion*, but h richest of However, t fant, he g their perm cury, with honour of Thus th

ever was t *Pausanias* *dæmonians* temple of the gates, hunger; o they took died imme

Cimon having encreased his forces by being joined by these allies, sailed with them to *Thrace*, where the *Persians* had taken possession of *Eion*, a town situated on the river *Strymon*, and infested the *Greeks* in that neighbourhood. Having defeated those *Persians*, and shut them up in the walls of the city; he reduced and drove out the *Thracians* of the adjacent country, from whence *Eion* was supplied with provisions. By this means the besieged were reduced to such streights, that *Butes*, who commanded there for the king, thinking he could not surrender the place with honour, set fire to it, and burned himself, his friends, and his goods, in one common flame. *Cimon* thus got possession of *Eion*, but he acquired little plunder; for the richest of the moveables were consumed. However, the country being fertile and pleasant, he gave it to the *Athenians*, and by their permission erected three statues of *Mercury*, with different inscriptions in verse in honour of this conquest.

Thus the *Athenians* became masters of *Eion*

ever was the event it might appear fulfilled. *Pausanias* returned to *Sparta*, when the *Lacedæmonians* resolving to seize him, he fled to the temple of *Minerva*: upon this they stopped up the gates, and suffered him to be starved with hunger; but just when he was ready to expire, they took him out through the roof; and he died immediately after.

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and *Amphipolis*, where they planted colonies, and afterwards also sent a colony into the island of *Scyros**, which *Cimon* took in the following manner. The *Dolepians*, who were the ancient inhabitants, neglecting husbandry, had been long remarkable for their piracies, and at last even rifled those who brought merchandize into their own ports: for some merchants of *Thessaly*, entering the harbour of *Cteffum*, they seized their goods and confined their persons; but breaking out of prison, they went and demanded justice of the chief magistrates, who sentenced the people to pay a fine; but they thinking it unreasonable that it should be paid by the public, required it from those who had enriched themselves by the plunder; and these fearing they should be obliged to restore what they had taken, wrote to invite *Cimon* to take possession of the place, promising to deliver it into his hands. *Cimon* having thus taken the town, expelled these pirates, and opened a trade into the *Ægean* sea. Afterwards hearing that *Theseus*†, when he fled from *Athens*, took refuge in this island, where he was slain by king *Lycomedes*, he strove to find where he was buried; for an oracle had a little before

* *Scyros*, now called *Sciro*, is one of the islands in the *Archipelago*, and is separated from *Negropont*, anciently *Eubœa*, by a channel about twenty miles broad.

† See the life of *Theseus*, vol. i. of this work.

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VOL: IV

commanded the *Athenians* to bring home his ashes, and to honour him as an hero. At length, after diligent enquiry, *Cimon* found out the tomb, and having taken his relicks into his own galley, brought them with great pomp to *Athens*, 800 years after *Theseus* left that city. The people received them with the highest expressions of joy, and to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, founded a contest or prize for tragic writers, which became very famous. For *Sophocles* having in his youth brought his first play on the stage, the *Archon*, or chief magistrate, observing that the applause of the spectators was divided, and that they entered into parties, would not cast lots who should be judges: but, when *Cimon* and the rest of the generals who were ten in all, came in, he prevailed on them to decide the affair, and the prize was adjudged to *Sophocles*, which so mortified *Æschylus*, that he soon after went to *Sicily*, where he died of grief.

Ion says, that when he was young, and had just returned from *Chios* to *Athens*, he happened to sup with *Cimon*, at the house of *Laomedon*. *Cimon* sung very agreeably after supper, and was complimented on that account by the company: the conversation then turned upon his actions, and after the most considerable had been mentioned, he observed they had omitted one, on which he most valued himself, for his address. The *Athenians* and their allies having taken a great number of the Barbarian prisoners in

Byzantium and *Scythos*, desired him to distribute the booty; on which he placed all the captives naked in one lot, and all the rich ornaments of their dress in the other. The allies complained of this partition as unequal; but *Cimon* giving them the choice, they immediately took the purple robes, bracelets, and gold chains, while the *Athenians* had only for their share a multitude of human creatures, naked and unfit for labour. Upon this *Cimon* was laughed at, for his supposed ridiculous division. However, the relations and friends of these prisoners came soon after from *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and redeemed them all at to high a price, that with the money arising from their ransom, *Cimon* maintained his whole fleet four months, after which a considerable sum was left, and laid up in the treasury of *Athens*.

Cimon was now grown rich; but he amassed wealth only to use it. His gardens and orchards were always open both to travellers, and the citizens in general, who might freely gather the fruit. His table was not served with delicacies, but with plenty, and all poor citizens were welcome to partake of his repasts. *Aristotle* says, that this privilege only extended to the ward of *Latia*. When he went abroad, he was always attended with a number of well-dressed young men of his acquaintance; and if he met with an elderly citizen in a poor habit, he ordered one of his retinue to change cloaths with him. He likewise enjoined his attendants to carry money

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money about them, and if they met in the streets any necessitous person who made a decent appearance, they privately conveyed some pieces into his hand.

Thus *Cimon* surpassed all the ancient *Athenians* in hospitality and beneficence: for tho' the *Athenians* boast that the rest of *Greece* owe to their ancestors the method of sowing corn, and the use of fire and water, yet *Cimon*, by keeping open house, and giving travellers leave to eat all the fruit which the several seasons afforded, seemed to restore the community of goods which the poets say was maintained in the golden age. This he was so far from doing in order to render himself popular, that he constantly maintained the interests of the nobility, and both he and *Aristides* perpetually opposed *Themistocles*, whenever he was for advancing the authority of the people beyond its just limits. While others enriched themselves out of the public money, he kept his hands clean. Hence when *Ræfæces* a *Persian*, who had revolted from the king his master, took refuge at *Athens*, being continually accused before the people, he applied for redress to *Cimon*, and to gain his favour, placed two cups at his door, the one full of silver and the other of gold: but *Cimon* on seeing them, asked him with a smile, Whether he would have him to be his mercenary or his friend; he replied, *his friend*. "If so, said *Cimon*, take away this money; for being your friend, I shall use it, when I have occasion for it."

The allies of the *Athenians* seeing their enemies driven out of the country, were desirous of living in repose, and attending to the cultivation of their lands; and therefore, though they still paid their contribution, they would neither send men nor galleys. The other *Athenian* generals strove to force them to do this by prosecutions and fines: but *Cimon* obliged none of the *Greeks* to go who were not willing; yet from those who desired to be excused, he took money and vessels unmanned: thus the allies became enervated by indolence and luxury; while the *Athenians*, whom he took by turns into his galleys, and employed in all his naval expeditions, by being severely disciplined, and continually in arms, began to be feared and flattered by the allies, who at last became their tributaries and slaves.

No *Grecian* general ever gave such a blow to the pride of the *Persian* monarchy as *Cimon*. After the Barbarians were driven out of *Greece*, he did not allow them time to breathe; but sailed immediately after them, took their strongest cities, and brought over all their allies, so that the king of *Persia* had not one soldier left in *Asia* from *Ionian* * to *Pamphylia* †.

Cimon, hearing that a *Persian* army was landed on the coast of *Pamphylia*, and that

* A province of *Asia Minor*, or *Natolia*.

† Now a part of the province of *Carimania* in *Asia Minor*.

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they had there a great fleet at sea, first sailed with 200 gallies towards the city of *Phaselis* *, which, tho' inhabited by the *Greeks*, refused to quit the interests of *Persia*, and would not suffer him to enter the port. Upon which he ravaged the country, and advanced to the walls of the city: but some soldiers of the isle of *Cbios*, who had listd under *Cimon*, being ancient friends to the inhabitants, shot arrows into the town, to which were fastened letters, by which they prevailed on the citizens to join their forces to those of *Cimon*, and to pay down ten talents.

The *Persian* fleet had anchored in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, where they waited for a reinforcement of *Phœnician* ships from *Cyprus*: but *Cimon* resolving to prevent their joining, ranged his gallies in such a manner, as to oblige them to come to an engagement, on which the Barbarians retired within the mouth of the river; but seeing the *Athenians* follow them, they met them, as *Phanodemus* says, with 600 sail, or, according to *Ephorus*, with only 350: but after a short engagement, they turned the prows of their vessels towards the shore, and leapt into the sea, in order to join their land army, which lay on the coast, while the rest perished with their vessels, or were taken prisoners.

* *Phaselis*, which was a city of *Pamphylia*, is now called *Fianda*.

The number of their gallies was doubtless very great; for tho' many escaped from the fight, and many were sunk, 200 sail were taken by the *Athenians*. It was very hazardous to attempt a descent in sight of the enemy, and to lead troops already fatigued by their late battle, against fresh forces much superior in number: however, *Cimon* perceiving that the whole army were eager to engage the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of his soldiers, who were greatly animated with this first success. He accordingly landed, and they were no sooner disembarked, than shouting aloud, they ran furiously on the enemy, who stood firm, and sustained the shock with great resolution. The battle was extremely bloody, and many of the *Athenians*, most distinguished for their quality and courage, were slain: but at length, with much difficulty, they routed the Barbarians, took many prisoners, and seized their camp, which was filled with very rich spoils.

Cimon having thus in one day gained two victories, almost equal to those of *Salamun* and *Plataea*, to crown all, failed to meet the succours coming from *Cyprus* to the assistance of the *Persians*, which came in eighty *Phœnician* ships, and had not received any certain account of the former defeats. These were also briskly attacked, and the whole fleet taken or sunk. The success of the *Athenians* in these several engagements so humbled the king of *Persia*, that he soon after concluded that

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that memorableness, by which he engaged that none of his vessels of war should fail beyond the *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidonian* islands*.

The *Athenians* raised so much money from the immense spoils taken by *Cimon*, that with only a part of them they built the south wall of the citadel, and fortified the city by two long walls which joined the city to the port. *Cimon* also adorned *Athens* with those public places for conversation and exercise, in which the *Athenians* afterwards took such delight. He encompassed the Forum with plane trees, and the Academy, which had before neither trees nor water, he embellished with a delightful grove adorned with fountains; he made covered walks, and laid out ground for horse and foot races.

Cimon being afterwards informed that some *Persians* had taken possession of the *Chersonesus*, and called in the people of Upper *Thrace* to their assistance, he set sail with a small number of ships: but tho' the Barbarians despised a force so inconsiderable, he, with only four vessels, took thirteen of theirs, and having driven out the *Persians*, conquered the *Thracians*, and rendered the whole *Chersonesus* subject to the *Athenians*.

From thence he sailed against the people of the island of *Thasos*, who had revolted, and

* These islands or rocks are near the entrance of the *Euxine* sea, the first on the *European* side, near *Constantinople*, and the other opposite to it on the *Asiatic* side.

having

having defeated them in anaval engagement, took thirty-three of their vessels; stormed the town, and seized for the use of the *Athenians*, all the gold mines on the opposite continent, and all the country dependant on *Thajos* *. This might have opened him an easy passage into *Macedon*; but on his neglecting that opportunity, he was afterwards suspected of having been bribed by king *Alexander*, and prosecuted by his enemies, but was acquitted by his judges.

Cimon

* The *Thasians* maintained the revolt with an almost unparallel'd resolution, and even made a law, that the first who should propose concluding a treaty with the *Athenians*, should suffer death. The siege lasted three years, during which the inhabitants suffered all the calamities of war. The women behaved with no less firmness than the men; for the besieged wanting ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair, to furnish materials for making them. At length the city was reduced to the utmost distress by famine, which carried off a great number of the inhabitants, when *Hegetorides*, a *Thasian*, being deeply afflicted at seeing such multitudes of his fellow-citizens perish, put a halter round his neck, and presenting himself before the assembly, cried, "Countrymen, do with me as you please, but if you do not spare me, let my death save the rest of the people, and prevail on you to
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Cimon, while at *Athens*, always prevented the people's encroaching on the privileges of the nobility, and drawing the power into their hands. But while he was commanding the army abroad, the multitude, by the assistance of *Pericles*, reversed the ancient laws and customs, and withdrew the cognizance of most causes from the *Areopagus*; so that all appeals being made to them, the government was reduced to a democracy. *Cimon* being returned to *Athens*, was deeply concerned at seeing the dignity of the senate trampled under foot, and therefore set every engine at work to restore it to its pristine authority, and to revive the aristocracy as it had been established under *Calisthenes*. This made his enemies declaim against him with the greatest vehemence: they revived the stories relating to him and his sister, and accused him of being a drunkard, and of being too strongly attached to the *Lacedæmonians*. He was indeed, even from his youth, a favourer of the *Spartans*, by whom he was at that time countenanced in opposition to *Themistocles*, whom they then hated, and therefore endeavoured to raise *Cimon's* credit and authority at *Athens*. Hence in his public speeches, he

“abolish the cruel law you have enacted, so
 “contrary to your welfare.” Struck with these words, the *Thasians* abolished the law, but would not suffer it to cost the life of so generous a citizen, they surrendered to the *Athenians*, who spared their lives. *Polyænus Str. lib. ii. & viii.*

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frequently preferred the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*, and when he would reprimand them for a fault, or incite them to emulation, would say, *The Spartans would not do thus*. It is natural to suppose, that this highly disgusted the *Athenians*, and procured him much hatred and ill-will. But the calumnies by which he most suffered arose from the following cause.

In the fourth year of *Archidamus*, king of *Sparta*, there happened a most dreadful earthquake in *Laconia*, in which the earth opened, and formed the most frightful abysses; the mountain of *Taygetus*, and those near it, were so shaken, that their summits fell into the plains below; and the whole city of *Sparta*, except five houses, was shattered to pieces. It is said, that just before it began, some young men were exercising themselves in the midst of the portico, when a hare suddenly started out just by them, on which some of them, tho' naked and rubbed over with oil, ran after it in sport: but no sooner had they left the portico, than that building fell upon those that were left, and killed them all. *Archidamus* apprehending from the present danger what might follow, and observing the citizens removing the most valuable of their effects, ordered the alarm to be sounded, that they might immediately arm themselves, and resort to him. This step saved *Sparta*; for the *Helots* had assembled from the adjacent country, in order to surprize the city, and to plunder

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plunder those who survived the earthquake ; but finding them in arms, and ready to receive them, they retired to the other towns, and having drawn into their confederacy many of the neighbouring people, openly made war on the *Spartans*, who therefore sent to *Athens* to solicit succours.

Upon hearing this request, *Epialtes* declared that they ought not to assist a city that was rival to *Athens* ; but leave it to its distress, and trample on the pride of *Sparta*. But *Cimon* persuaded the people to send him with a considerable relief ; on which occasion the *Athenians* are said to have been most affected with this part of his speech. “ Suffer not *Greece* to be maimed by the loss of “ so considerable a member, nor your own “ city to be deprived of her companion.”

Cimon returned from succouring the *Lacedæmonians* ; but soon after they sent to desire succours against the *Messenians* and *Helots*, who had seized upon *Ithoma*. Yet when these were arrived under the command of *Cimon*, the *Spartans* being under apprehensions from their resolution and intrepidity, pretended that they could do without them. The *Athenians*, enraged at this ill usage, returned home, and venting their anger on all who had been favourers of the *Spartans*, upon some slight pretence, banished *Cimon* for ten years.

In the mean while the *Spartans* resolving to deliver *Delfi* from the *Phoceans*, advanced to *Tanagra*, in *Bœotia*, on which the *Athe-*
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nians marched against them. *Cimon* thinking himself dispensed from his proscription, also went thither, intending to join his countrymen in opposing the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore ranged himself with those of his own tribe: but his enemies caused him to be ordered to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who as well as he were suspected of favouring the *Lacedaemonians*, to shew their innocence, by behaving with the utmost bravery against their enemies. These soldiers, who were a hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded a complete suit of his armour, which they placed in the centre of their battalion, in order to have him in a manner before their eyes, and then forming themselves into a close body, charged the enemy with such fury, that they were all cut off, to the great regret of the *Athenians*, who now repented that they had so unjustly accused them. Their resentment again now subsided; for being defeated in this battle, and fearing that the *Spartans* would attack them in the spring, they recalled *Cimon* by a decree, which was proposed and drawn up by *Pericles* himself: so moderate in those times were the resentments and animosities of the *Athenians*, that they always gave way to the public good; even ambition, the most ungovernable of all the passions, yielded to the necessities of the state.

Cimon no sooner returned, than he stifled the flame which was going to break-out among

among the cities. But under a state their glory them a great common opportunity to attack their 200 galleys upon *Egypt*, and *Perseus*'s fleet, and *Prus*, and *Themistocles* added frequently to the projects of the *island of Cyprus* died of a violent death with his death conduct to means to they got strictly observed safety, and knew what *demus* observed it were, after his death. But in Greece; for VOL. I.

among the *Greeks*, and reconciled the two cities. But finding the *Athenians* impatient under a state of inaction, and eager to encrease their glory by a war, he resolved to lead them a great distance from home, against the common enemy, to prevent their having any opportunity, or harbouring any design to attack their allies. Accordingly he equipped 200 gallies, in order to make an attempt upon *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. With this fleet he set sail, and having sent sixty of his ships toward *Egypt*, and with the rest defeated the king of *Persia's* fleet, he subdued all the cities of *Cyprus*, and even formed the design of subverting the *Persian* empire. The rumour that *Themistocles* was to command against him, added fresh fuel to his courage. But it is generally said, that in the midst of these projects he died of a sickness at *Citium*, in the isle of *Cyprus*; but others maintain, that he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the Barbarians. A little before his death, he ordered those about him to conduct the fleet back to *Athens*, and by no means to divulge the news of his death till they got thither; and this order was so strictly observed, that they returned home in safety, and neither their friends nor allies knew what had happened: whence *Phanodemus* observes, that the *Grecian* army was, as it were, conducted by *Cimon* thirty days after his decease.

But in *Cimon* perished the good fortune of *Greece*; for after his death, the different states,

instead of uniting against their common enemies, became exasperated against each other, and none interposed their good offices to produce a reconciliation. This gave the *Persians* an opportunity of encreasing their strength, and involved the *Greeks* in the deepest misfortunes.

The *Cimonian* monuments at *Athens* shew that *Cimon* was interred there, yet the inhabitants of *Citium* pay particular honour to a certain monument which they call the tomb of *Cimon*.



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 HE grandfather of *Lucullus* had been consul; but his father had been convicted of extortion, and his mother rendered herself infamous by the looseness of her behaviour. While *Lucullus* was very young, he prosecuted *Servilius* the augur, who had been the accuser of his father, charging him with corruption in the execution of his office. This was considered as an act of singular virtue; for the *Romans* conceived the highest pleasure at seeing young men eagerly pursuing offenders: but tho' this cause was managed

managed with such animosity, that several were killed on both sides, *Servilius* was at length acquitted.

Lucullus united arms with letters, and could express himself with equal fluency in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues: on which account *Sylla* dedicated his memoirs to him, as being more able than himself to reduce them into the form of a regular history: he admired and studied the liberal sciences, and one day discoursing when young with *Sienna* the historian, and *Hortensius* the lawyer, he offered to write a history of the *Marfan* war in verse or prose, and that in either *Latin* or *Greek*, as should be determined by lot. They took him at his word, and the lot falling on the *Greek*, he performed his promise. He had besides such an extraordinary affection for his brother *Marcus*, that tho' he was much older than he, he declined entering upon any office till *Marcus* was of an age that would admit of his sharing with him in the honours of the commonwealth: at which the people were so pleased, that *Lucullus*, tho' absent, was raised to the office of ædile with his brother.

Lucullus gave early proofs of his valour and conduct in the *Marfan* war. *Sylla* admiring his constancy and mildness, always employed him in the most important affairs, one of which was the coining of money, for the greatest part of that used in the *Mithridatic* war, was by him coined in the *Peloponnesus*, and was long current in the army by the name of

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Lucullian coin. Afterwards, when *Sylla* had taken *Athens*, the supplies for his army being cut off, by the enemy being masters at sea, *Lucullus* was sent into *Libya* and *Egypt* to procure shipping; when, tho' it was the depth of winter, he put to sea with only three small *Grecian* vessels, and as many *Rhodian* gallies, escaped the enemy's ships, and arrived safely at *Crete*. He there gained over the *Cretans* to *Sylla's* party; and finding the *Cyrenians* * oppressed by tyrants, and suffering by a destructive war, he composed their differences, and regulated their government. Having settled affairs at *Cyrens*, he sailed from thence to *Egypt*, but in his passage had the misfortune to lose most of the ships he had been collecting, by their being taken by pirates.

On his arrival at *Alexandria*, the royal navy splendidly adorned, left the port to meet him, and paid him the same compliments the king himself used to receive on his return from a voyage. *Ptolemy*, who was then young, behaved to him with the greatest kindness and respect, and appointed him an apartment and table in the palace, an honour never before shewn to any foreign commander. And his appointments for defraying his expences was four times as large as any that had been settled on the like occasion. *Lucullus*, however, accepted of no

* *Cyrene* is now called the territory of *Barrea*, which lies on the coast of *Barbary*, between *Tripoly* and *Egypt*.

more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the presents that were offered him, tho' they were valued at above fourscore talents. It is said, that he neither went to see *Memphis*, nor any of the celebrated wonders of *Egypt*, thinking the gratification of curiosity fitter for a man of no business than for him who left his commander in the trenches. Tho' *Ptolemy* refused to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, for fear of drawing the war upon himself, he provided *Lucullus* with a fleet sufficient to convey him to *Cyprus*, and when he was ready to embark, that prince embracing him, presented him a large and beautiful emerald set in gold. *Lucullus* would have excused himself from accepting it, and only complied at last, because *Ptolemy* observed to him, that it was his own head which was engraved upon the stone.

In this voyage *Lucullus* collected a number of ships from all the maritime towns, except those that gave harbour to the pirates, or were suspected to be in their interest. Being informed, on his arrival at *Cyprus* *, that the enemy waited for him under the promontories, he laid up the fleet, and sent to desire the cities to supply him with provisions, pretending that he should winter there: but the wind no sooner served, than he suddenly

* An island in the *Levant*, of which see a description in *The World displayed*, Vol. xii. p. 49.

embarked, arrived safely with more than four hundred talents of gold against the garrison of *Mus*, a typhoidians, he had the fleet in two a promontory bay of *T* in the straits, transport

A peace dates and 20,000 talents to *Lucullus* to which he and she charge *Mitylenia* very de

* An *Stanchion* description *World a*

† *Ch* *Archipelago* count in p. 31,

embarked, and proceeding on his voyage, arrived safe at *Rhodes*, where, being furnished with more ships, he prevailed on the inhabitants of *Coos**, and *Cnidos* to join with him against the *Samians*. He drove *Mithridates's* garrison out of *Chios*†, and seizing *Epigonus*, a tyrant who cruelly oppressed the *Colophians*, restored their liberties. Afterwards he had the honour of defeating *Mithridates's* fleet in two engagements: the first at *Lectum*, a promontory of *Troas*, and the other in the bay of *Tenedos*. After which he joined *Sylla* in the *Chersonesus*, as he was passing the streights, and brought timely assistance for transporting the army.

A peace being concluded between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*, *Sylla* laid a fine of 20,000 talents upon *Asia*, and ordered *Lucullus* to levy and new coin the money; in which he behaved like a man of integrity, and shewed great moderation in the discharge of that odious employment. The *Mitylenians* declaring for *Marius*, *Lucullus* was very desirous of making them sensible of

* An island in the *Archipelago*, now called *Stanchio*, of which the reader may see a description in *Thevenet's Travels*, inserted in *The World displayed*, Vol. xii. p. 45.

† *Chio* or *Chios*, is a very fine island in the *Archipelago*, of which see a very particular account in the above entertaining work, Vol. xii. p. 31, &c.

their

their error; but finding that they were resolved to persist in their opposition, he defeated them by sea, and then laid siege to the city. Some time after he embarked at noon day, in view of the town, and pretended to sail for *Elea*; but it was no sooner dark, than he tack'd about, returned without noise, and lay in ambush near the city. The next morning the citizens sallied out in a disorderly manner, and ran to pillage the camp: but *Lucullus* suddenly falling upon them, slew 5000 who stood on their defence, and took 6000 prisoners, with an immense quantity of plunder.

Lucullus was so happy as to have no hand in the dreadful calamities, in which all *Italy* was involved by the means of *Marius* and *Sylla*: but tho' he continued in *Asia*, he was as much in *Sylla's* favour as any of his other friends; for he not only dedicated his memoirs to him, but at his death left him guardian to his son, in preference to *Pompey*.

Soon after *Sylla's* death, *Lucullus* was chosen consul with *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*. At this time *Lucius Quintus*, the tribune, proposed to abrogate the laws made by *Sylla*, endeavouring by this means to disturb the peace of the state, which was now settled, but *Lucullus*, by his private remonstrances and public admonitions, prevented his prosecuting his design. Thus by his prudent and salutary conduct, he suppressed in its very beginning

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an evil, that might have been attended with the most fatal consequences.

About the same time news was received at *Rome*, that *Octavius*, the governor of *Cilicia*, was dead, on which many candidates appeared for that government, all of whom made their court to *Cethegus*, another tribune, who had the greatest influence of any man in the city: but was an enemy to *Lucullus*, who detesting him for his scandalous lewdness and profligate life, declared open war against him. *Lucullus* was however now reduced to have recourse to his credit in the design he had formed of obtaining *Cilicia*. He even stooped so low as to pay his court to the mistress of *Cethegus*. To what degree is ambition capable of debasing the greatest minds! Her name was *Precia*; she reigned absolutely in the city; for nothing was done in it but by *Cethegus*, and there was no access to him, but by her means. *Lucullus* made her presents; and the vanity and arrogance of *Precia* was soothed by seeing a consul of such merit as *Lucullus* implore her protection: she was therefore much pleased, and thought it an honour to serve him. The province of *Cilicia* was given to *Lucullus* by the people, and as he had foreseen, he was charged with the war against *Mithridates*. *Cotta*, his colleague, was desirous of sharing in that employment with him, and with much difficulty prevailed on the senate to send him
with

with a fleet to guard the *Propontis* *, and to defend *Bithynia* †.

Lucullus took only one legion out of *Italy*, and on his arrival in *Asia* joined the other forces, of which his army was to be composed; but these last had been long corrupted by luxury and avarice. A part of them called *Fimbrians*, who had been a considerable time without a chief, were rendered headstrong and ungovernable. These troops had by the command of *Fimbria* slain *Flaccus* the Roman consul, and had afterwards betrayed *Fimbria* to *Sylla*; but notwithstanding their being an insolent and lawless band, they were brave and expert in war.

The manner in which *Mithridates* made war at first, resembled the declamations of the *Sophists*, which abound in pomp and ornament more than in substance and solidity:

* The *Propontis*, or sea of *Marmora*, separates *Europe* from *Asia*, and is 120 miles long, and in some places 40 broad. It has the *Hellespont*, or Streight of the *Dardanells* on the south-west, by which it has a communication with the *Archipelago*; and the *Bosphorus*, or Streight of *Constantinople* on the north-east, by which it has a communication with the *Euxine* sea. The reader may see a farther account of the *Propontis* in *The World display'd*, Vol. xi. p. 176.

† *Bithynia* was that part of *Asia Minor*, which lay near what is now called the Streights of *Constantinople*.

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hence his army appeared splendid and magnificent, but was really of little service. But a signal defeat had taught him wisdom; so that, on the renewal of the war, he reduced his forces into a well martial'd army, formed less for shew than service, and laid aside all the armour adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather as the wealth of the conqueror than a security to those who wore it. He furnished his soldiers with swords formed like those of the *Romans*, and with solid and substantial shields. Instead of having his horses magnificently harnessed, he took care to have them strong and well trained. His foot amounted to 120,000, and his cavalry to 16,000; besides he had 100 chariots, armed with long scythes, and each drawn by four horses. His fleet was not encumbered, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and sumptuous apartments for women, but stored with all sorts of offensive and defensive weapons, and provided with money to pay the soldiers. In this formidable manner he invaded *Bithynia*, where the cities joyfully opened their gates to him: for almost all the cities of *Asia* were cruelly oppressed by the *Roman* publicans and usurers: but *Lucullus* exhorting those harpies to be more compassionate and reasonable, composed the minds of the people, and prevented a sedition that was ready to break out on every side.

In the mean time *Cotta* prepared to give battle to *Mitridates*: for being informed
that

that *Lucullus* was already advanced as far as *Phrygia*, he was eager to come to an engagement, in order to deprive his colleague of sharing in the honour of the victory: but he had the misfortune to be defeated both by sea and land. In the naval engagement he lost sixty ships, with all the men on board: by land he not only lost 4000 men, but was forced to fly to *Chalcedon*, where he was besieged, and had no resource but in him whom he intended to deprive of the victory.

Lucullus's soldiers highly resented *Cotta's* not only ruining himself, and those who were with him by his folly and rashness, but his depriving them of a victory, which by staying till they came, might have been obtained without danger; and therefore some of them pressed *Lucullus* to give himself no concern about that imprudent general; but march without delay into the territories of *Mithridates*. But *Lucullus* addressing the army in a speech, declared, that he had rather save one Roman, than be master of all the wealth of the enemy. He accordingly marched against *Mithridates* with 30,000 foot, and 2500 horse.

Lucullus no sooner arrived within sight of the enemy, than being astonished at their numbers, he resolved, if possible, to avoid fighting, and to spin out the war. In the mean time, *M. Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent from Spain to *Mithridates*, in quality of proconsul, having advanced near the camp

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of *Lucullus*, in order to force him to a battle, the latter could not refuse the defiance. But when they were just ready to engage, they were prevented by a surprizing phenomenon. On a sudden the sky seemed to open, and a great mass of fire fell between the two armies, in form resembling a tun, and in colour like melted silver in a blaze. This so terrified the two armies, that they separated as if by consent.

Lucullus still pursued his first plan; for he was convinced, that no magazines were sufficient to support for a considerable time such an innumerable multitude as *Mithridates* had in his army *; but that he might act with the greater certainty, he caused a prisoner to be set before him, whom he asked how many comrades he had in his mess, and what quantity of corn he had left in his tent. A second and a third he examined in the same manner, and then comparing their answers together, discovered that in three or four days *Mithridates* would be in want of provisions. This confirmed him in his resolution to spin out the time; and in the mean while he caused his own camp to be plentifully supplied with provisions, that he might be at leisure to take advantage of the enemy's necessities.

This had the desired effect. *Mithridates*

* They amounted to near 300,000 men.

endeavoured to surprize *Cyzicum* *, which had suffered extremely in the late engagement near *Chalcedon*, it having lost 3000 men, and ten ships. The king of *Pontus*, the better to conceal his design from *Lucullus*, began his march in a very dark and rainy night, and proceeded with such expedition, that by day-break he arrived before the place. *Lucullus*, on being informed of this motion, immediately followed him, and encamped near a village called *Thracea*, a convenient post that gave him the command of all the passes through which the enemy's provisions must pass. This circumstance insured his success, of which he was so sensible, that as soon as his soldiers had intrenched their camp, he told them in a chearful speech, that in a few days he would secure them the victory without loss of blood.

Mithridates formed ten camps by land round the place, and caused his fleet to block up the

* This city, which was one of the finest and most important of *Asia*, was situated in an island of the *Propontis*, about 20 leagues in circumference, and so near the main land, that it was joined to it by two bridges. The city was not only adorned with fine buildings, but was well fortified, and provided with two arsenals, which contained every thing necessary for a vigorous defence.

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freight that separated the island from the continent. The inhabitants were resolved to hold out till the last extremity; but what gave them most concern, was their hearing no news of *Lucullus*, though his army was within sight of the walls: but they were imposed on by *Mithridates's* troops, who shewing them the *Romans* encamped on the hills, told them they were *Medes* and *Armenians*, whom *Tigranes* had sent to the assistance of *Mithridates*. These words made them lose all hopes; for they thought themselves hemmed in on every side, and all the country seemed covered with the enemy; so that they had no prospect of relief, even though *Lucullus* himself should come to their assistance. While they were under this anxiety, a soldier got into the place, and assured them that *Lucullus* lay within view; but this did not entirely dispel their fears; for they apprehended it was done only to keep up their spirits. But just at that instant arrived a boy who had been taken prisoner by *Mithridates*, and had escaped into the city. They immediately asked him where *Lucullus* was; on which he began to laugh, imagining they jeered him; but when he found they were in earnest, he pointed with his finger to the *Roman* camp, which revived their hopes, and animated them with fresh courage.

In the mean time *Mithridates* continued the siege with vigour; *Nicomedes* the *Thessalian*, a famous engineer, inventing many

wonderful machines to * facilitate the taking of the city : but a storm arose in the night, and destroyed all those pieces of art. Mean while the confidence of the *Cyziceni*ans was encreased by several circumstances, which made them imagine, that the gods declared in their favour ; and they soon received the greatest advantage from the famine which prevailed in the army of the besiegers. Of this *Mithridates* was for some time ignorant ; but at length the evil became so pressing, that it was absolutely necessary to apprize him of it, when finding that his men were ready to perish for want of food, and that they were forced to feed on human flesh, he was struck with terror and consternation, and his ambition instantly vanished. *Lucullus* had so effectually secured the avenues, that it was impossible for him to receive any of his convoys ; therefore watching his opportunity, while *Lucullus* was besieging a fort, he detached almost all his horse, with all the foot

* Among these machines were towers of different magnitudes, and one in particular 100 cubits high, from which rose another tower, that discharged stones, fire, and clouds of darts ; and on the side next the sea, were two galleys of five benches of oars, supporting a tower, to which a flying bridge was fixed, ready to be thrown upon the wall when at a small distance from it.

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that could be spared, to fetch provisions from *Bithynia*.

Lucullus being informed of this motion, returned to the camp, and early the next morning pursued them with ten cohorts, and some of his cavalry; though the weather was very tempestuous, and the snow fell in great quantities, he continued his march, and overtaking the enemy near the river *Ryndacus*, attacked and defeated them; a very great number were slain, and the *Romans* took 15,000 prisoners, 6000 horses, and beasts of burthen without number: with all which *Lucullus* returned to his camp, passing by the enemy's intrenchments.

On this ill success the king of *Pontus* resolved on immediate flight: and to divert the attention of *Lucullus*, ordered *Aristonicus*, who commanded his fleet, to steer to the coast of *Greece*; but just as he was ready to set sail, he was betrayed by his own men, and delivered up to *Lucullus*, together with 10,000 pieces of gold, which he was to take with him in order to corrupt part of the *Roman* army. Upon this *Mithridates* instantly fled by sea, while his generals marched with the army by land. But *Lucullus* coming up with them near the river *Granicus*, attacked and slew 20,000 of them on the spot, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. In this war *Mithridates* is said to have lost near 300,000 men, including the servants and others who followed the army.

Lucullus afterwards entered *Cyzicum*, where he was received with the highest demonstrations of respect and joy*. He thence sailed into the *Hellespont*, in order to assemble the ships, and form a considerable navy. As he was coasting along, he stopt at *Troas*, where he was informed, that thirteen of *Mithridates's* galleys were seen at a small distance; on which he immediately set sail, and took them all, after having killed *Isidorus* their admiral. After this he proceeded in search of some other vessels, which then lay at anchor. On his approach, the officers of the enemy caused them to be haul'd ashore, and from their decks very much incommoded the *Romans*, who were unable to attack them; but at last discovering a landing-place, *Lucullus*, with great difficulty put on shore some of his best troops, which falling on the enemy's rear, killed many of them, and forced the rest to stand out to sea; but crowding all out in great hurry and confusion, they either fell foul of one another, or were driven on the beaks of *Lucullus's* ships. A great number of the enemy were slain, and among the prisoners was *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent to the assistance of *Mithridates*. He had but one eye, and before the engagement, *Lucullus* had given strict orders to his troops to

* The *Cyziceni*ans to eternize their gratitude, even instituted festivals in honour of *Lucullus*, which they named *Lucullea*.

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kill no one-eyed man; for he was desirous of putting *Marius* to an ignominious death.

Lucullus now hastened in pursuit of *Mithridates*, whom he was in hopes of finding block'd up in *Bithynia* by *Voconius*, whom he had sent with some ships to *Nicomedia* *, to stop him in his flight: but *Voconius* loitering in *Samothracia* to perform some religious ceremonies, *Mithridates* made his escape, and reached *Pontus* before *Lucullus* could come up with him. In his retreat a storm dispersed his fleet, and sunk many of his ships, so that the coast was covered with wrecks and dead bodies, which by the violence of the storm had been driven ashore. The king himself was on board a ship of burden, which being unable to weather out the storm, he was forced to trust to the mercy of a piratical crew, by getting into their vessel, which beyond his hopes, landed him in *Heraclea* †, a city of *Pontus*.

About this time the senate decreed *Lucullus* 3000 talents ‡ for fitting out a fleet, and to put an end to the war; but he himself wrote to inform them, that with only the ships of the allies, he should be able to conclude the

* See a description of the present state of this fine city, in *The World Display'd*, vol. xi. p. 177.

† The reader may also see this city described in the same entertaining work, vol. xi. p. 179.

‡ About 450,000 l. sterling.

war. Many in the army now endeavoured to persuade *Lucullus* to repose for some time on his laurels; but instead of listening to their advice, he passed through *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, and entered *Pontus*. In this expedition he at first suffered so much from the scarcity of provisions, that he forced 30,000 *Galatians* to follow the army, each man carrying a medimnus of wheat on his shoulders. But advancing, and subduing every place through which he passed, he at last found such plenty, that an ox was sold in the camp for one drachma *, and a slave for four; and the rest of the plunder was reckoned as nothing, there being no opportunity of selling it, where every man had more than was sufficient. But as they extended their incursions as far as *Themiscyra*, and the plains watered by the *Thermodon*, the soldiers complained, that while he ravaged the country, he took all the cities by capitulation, so that they had no opportunity to enrich themselves by seizing gold and silver. "He leaves *Amisus*, said they, a rich and opulent city, unable to sustain a regular siege, and we are to be led into the deserts of the *Chalteaans* and *Tibærenians* in quest of *Mithridates*." *Lucullus* despised these murmurs, of which he did not then foresee the consequences, and thought himself more obliged to justify his conduct to those who charged him with not following *Mithridates* close enough, com-

* About five pence.

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plaining, that by amusing himself in a
 country where there was nothing of im-
 portance to be done, he gave that prince
 time to strengthen himself, and to assemble
 fresh forces. " This is exactly what I
 " want, said he, that *Mithridates* being a-
 " gain at the head of a numerous army, may
 " be willing to face us, and not fly at our
 " approach. Don't you see that there are im-
 " mense desarts behind him? *Caucasus* is
 " within his reach, whose passes and hol-
 " lows may hide and shelter a thousand kings
 " from our pursuit, should they desire to con-
 " ceal themselves and decline fighting. Be-
 " sides, *Mithridates* is now at *Cabira*; from
 " whence in a few days march he may arrive
 " in *Armenia*, of which *Tigranes* his son-in-law
 " is king. That prince, the most powerful of
 " *Asia*, and whose empire extends from the
 " frontiers of *Parthia* to *Palestine*, seeks only
 " an occasion for making war on us: and
 " with what more specious pretext can we
 " supply him, than that of defending a prince,
 " his ally, who implores his protection?
 " Who can doubt, but if we reduce *Mithri-*
 " *dates* to extremities, he will throw him-
 " self into the arms of *Tigranes*. Shall we
 " shew him a resource from which he may
 " find aid for opposing us? Instead of al-
 " lowing him time to raise forces, we shall
 " only have to deal with the *Cappadocians*
 " and *Tibarenians*, whom we have so often
 " conquered, and not with the *Medes* and
 " *Armenians*, of whom we know nothing."

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From these motives, *Lucullus* invested *Amisus*, which he rather blocked up, than besieged in form; and when the winter was over, left *Murena* before the place, and marched against *Mithridates*, who was encamped in the plains of the *Cabiri*, where he waited for the *Romans* at the head of 40,000 foot, and 4000 horse, in whom he placed his principal confidence; and having passed the river *Lycus*, offered them battle. The first engagement was between the cavalry, in which that of *Lucullus* had the disadvantage. Among the prisoners was *Pomponius*, a *Roman* officer, who being brought before *Mithridates*, that prince seeing him dangerously wounded, said, "If I take care of thee, and
 " get thee cured, wilt thou be my friend
 " for the future?" "Yes, answered he, if
 " thou wilt be at peace with the *Romans*,
 " otherwise I must be thine irreconcilable
 " enemy." Bold as this speech was, *Mithridates*, instead of being offended, admired his virtue.

Though *Lucullus* thought the plains unsafe, on account of the superiority of the enemy's horse, he did not dare to remove up to the high lands, the way to which was long and difficult. While he was under this perplexity, some *Greeks* who had concealed themselves in a cave, where some *Roman* soldiers happened to find them, were brought before him: when the eldest of these, named *Artemidorus*, undertook to conduct *Lucullus* to a safe advantageous post, where was a fort
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that commanded the plains. As soon as it was dark, *Lucullus* marched with his army, having first lighted many fires in his camp. He proceeded through the narrow passes without danger, and the next morning the enemy saw his army commodiously encamped in such a manner, that they could not force him to fight, contrary to his inclinations, and yet whenever he thought proper to engage, he would have the advantage of the ground.

While both *Lucullus* and *Mithridates* were undetermined about fighting, it is said that some of *Mithridates's* soldiers unharbouring a flag, hunted him, and being perceived by the *Romans*, they sallied out and crossed them in the chace. This produced an obstinate engagement, in which both sides were supported by fresh troops detached from the two armies, till *Mithridates's* party prevailed. The *Romans* in the camp then beholding from their entrenchments the flight of their companions, were filled with shame and indignation, and running to *Lucullus*, pressed him to lead them out, and give the signal for battle: but he rather chose to make them sensible of the advantage of the presence of a skilful general, even in the most sudden and desperate cases. He therefore strictly commanded them to keep within their trenches, and descending in person into the plain, commanded the first fugitives he met to turn back with him: they did so, and the rest following their example, they rallied, and soon

soon driving back the enemy, pursued them to their camp. *Lucullus* on his return ordered those troops to undergo the ignominious punishment provided by the *Roman* discipline for those who fly in an engagement: that is, they were obliged to dig a trench twelve feet deep in their loose tunics, in the view of the rest of the army.

In *Mitbridates's* camp was at this time a person of great power among the *Dandarians*, a barbarous people near the lake *Mæctis*; he was called *Olthacus*, and was remarkable for his strength and courage, his prudence and sagacity, and his pleasant, affable and courteous behaviour. This man promised *Mitbridates* that he would kill *Lucullus*. His zeal was commended, and he went over to *Lucullus*, by whom he was received with all the marks of esteem and respect, his name being well known in the *Roman* army. *Lucullus* was so pleased with his sagacity, diligence and address, that he admitted him to his table, and into his council. *Olthacus* at length thinking he had an opportunity of putting his design in execution, ordered his servants to lead his horse out of the camp; and while the soldiers were at noon refreshing themselves, went to the general's tent: but sleep, which has destroyed so many captains, saved *Lucullus*. *Menedemus*, one of the officers of his bedchamber, standing at the door, told *Olthacus*, that he must not disturb him; for after long watching and hard labour, he was laid down to take some repose.

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Olthacus insisted on seeing him, under the pretence of having some important affair to communicate ; but the officer replying, that nothing was more important than the safety of *Lucullus*, thrust him away ; on which *Olthacus*, being afraid that he was suspected, took horse, and returned to *Mithridates*.

Lucullus some time after sent *Sornatius* with ten cohorts to cover a convoy, when *Mithridates* sending *Menander*, one of his generals, to attack him, *Sornatius* killed that officer, with a great number of his men, and put the rest to flight. A few days after *Lucullus* dispatched *Adrianus* with a considerable force on the same occasion, on which *Mithridates* sent after him *Myro* and *Menemachus*, with a large body of horse and foot ; but only two persons returned to the camp, all the rest being cut off by the *Romans* : *Mithridates* endeavoured to conceal this loss ; but *Adrianus* passing by the camp with many waggons full of corn, and other booty, threw that prince into consternation, and made him resolve instantly to depart. The principal officers belonging to *Mithridates* began to convey away their goods, but not allowing the soldiers the same privilege, they thronged in a tumultuous manner to the gates, plundered the baggage, and killed those who had the charge of it. Among others, one of the king's lieutenants was slain for the sake of his purple robe, and a priest was trodden to death. *Mithridates* himself pressed out with the crowd, without having either a horse or a servant to

attend him; till one of his eunuchs seeing him hurried along in the general torrent, dismounted, and gave him his horse. By this time the *Romans* had advanced so near, that he was on the point of being taken, and he owed his safety only to their avarice. They had almost come up with him, when one of the mules, laden with that king's treasures, stepped into the road between him and them, either by accident, or by the king's order; when the soldiers quitting the pursuit, and quarrelling about the plunder, suffered the king to escape. Nor did the avarice of the soldiers stop here, *Callistratus*, the king's principal secretary, being taken, *Lucullus* ordered him to be conducted to the camp, and there safely kept; but those who had the charge of him, being informed that 500 pieces of gold were quilted in his girdle, murdered him for the sake of the money; yet *Lucullus* allowed them the plunder of the king's camp.

Afterwards *Lucullus* took the city of *Cabira*, and several other towns and fortresses, in which were great treasures. He found the prisons crouded with *Grecian* captives, and with the near relations of *Mithridates*, whom that prince had ordered to be confined. As these unhappy persons had long considered themselves as dead to the world, the liberty to which they were now restored, by the favour of *Lucullus*, seemed less a deliverance than a new life.* In one of the castles was *Nysa*, sister to the king. This was to her a happy captivity; for she was set at liberty by the
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conqueror, while the king's wives and his other sisters, who thought themselves in a place of safety, near the city of *Pharnacia*, died a violent death, *Mithridates* sending *Bacchidas* the eunuch thither, with orders to dispatch them.

Among these unfortunate women were two of the king's unmarried sisters, *Roxana* and *Statira*, who were about forty years old; and two of his wives, both *Ionians*, one of *Miletus*, named *Monima*, the other of *Chios*, called *Berenice*. The former was celebrated throughout all *Greece*, for the king having entertained a violent passion for her, had endeavoured by all possible means to obtain her for his mistress, and even at one time offered her a present of 15,000 pieces of gold; but she rejected all his offers, till he had agreed to marry her, and sending her a diadem, declared her queen: but from that time she bewailed the beauty, which, instead of a tender husband, had procured her an imperious master, who, instead of allowing her to enjoy the comforts of a family, and of conjugal society, had confined her far from *Greece*, where she was deprived of the real pleasures she had known in her native country.

On *Bacchidas's* arrival, he let these princesses know the orders he had received from *Mithridates*, and allowed them to chuse what death they liked best. *Monima* now took the diadem from her head, and tying it about her neck, endeavoured to hang herself; but it

proved too weak, and broke. When crying, "Accursed fillet, art thou useless to me even in this;" she threw it from her, and spitting upon it, held out her neck to *Bacchidas*. *Berenice* had prepared poison, and at her mother's desire gave her a part; but the dose being too small for both, the daughter remained long in great agonies, till *Bacchidas*, being in haste, strangled her. One of the unmarried sisters, it is said, on drinking the poison, uttered the bitterest curses. But *Stira* behaved with great dignity, commending her brother, who when himself was in danger was not unmindful of them, but took care they should die without shame or disgrace.

These murders gave *Lucullus*, who was a man of humanity, great concern. He marched as far as *Talauri*, where being informed that *Mithridates* had left that city four days before his arrival, and had entered the dominions of *Tigranes*, he returned back. He then subdued the *Chaldæans* and *Tibareniens*, and took the towns and fortresses in lesser *Armenia*, after which he sent *Appius* to require *Tigranes* to deliver up *Mithridates*. In the mean time *Lucullus* went to *Amisus*, the siege of that city being still continued. This long defence was entirely owing to the bravery and skill of *Callimachus*, the governor, who being an excellent engineer, gave the *Romans* a great deal of trouble: but *Lucullus* giving orders for a vigorous attack, when it was customary for the garrison to quit the works,

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works, in order to refresh themselves, he made himself master of a part of the wall. *Callimachus* then seeing the place no longer tenable, left it; but first set it on fire, either to secure his flight, or to deprive the *Romans* of the plunder. *Lucullus*, grieved at beholding the destruction of so fine a city, commanded his men to extinguish the flames: but instead of obeying his orders, they all demanded the plunder, at the same time shouting aloud, and clashing their arms: on this he was forced to abandon the city to them, which he did, with the hopes that this might be a means of preserving it from the fire; but he was deceived; for the soldiers searching every where with torches in their hands for concealed treasures, set fire themselves to the houses that had not yet been injured by the flames.

Lucullus the next day entered the city, when beholding the terrible desolation, he burst into tears, and said to his friends, "I always thought *Sylla* the happiest of men, but never admired his good fortune so much as I do now. He had a mind to save *Athens*, and was able to do it; but I am so unhappy, that while I am ambitious of imitating him, I become like *Mummius* *". He still endeavoured to save as much of the city as possible, and some rain contributed to extinguish the flames. Before his departure,

* *Mummius* had about eighty years before destroyed *Corinth*.

he in a great measure repaired the ruins, kindly received all the inhabitants who were willing to return, and established as many *Greeks* as had a mind to live there, allowing the city 120 furlongs for its territories. *Amisus* was a colony settled by the *Athenians* in the time of their greatest prosperity: hence those who chose to quit *Athens*, on account of the tyranny of *Ariston*, had fled thither, not expecting that the evils, for which they left their own country, would pursue them to the asylum they had come so far to seek. To as many of these as survived, *Lucullus* gave cloaths; to each person he also gave 200 drachmas *, and sent them home to *Athens*.

Lucullus being now at leisure from the affairs of war, went to visit the cities of *Asia*, which had suffered inexpressible calamities from a total neglect of law and justice. The fine of 20,000 talents laid on them by *Sylla*, had made way for an infinite number of extortions and oppressions of the *Roman* publicans and usurers. The people had been forced to sell privately the handsomest of their sons and virgin daughters, and publickly to expose to sale the holy offerings of their temples, the images and pictures of their deities, and at length to become slaves to their creditors. Even this seemed a relief; as their former condition was infinitely more cruel and insupportable; for they were thrown into prisons, put to the torture, exposed naked

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in summer to the scorching beams of the sun, and in winter plunged in snow or mire. To remedy these evils, *Lucullus* began with reducing the interest to the rate of one *per cent* *. He next cancelled all the debts where the interest due amounted to more than the principal. But the most considerable regulation was, that the creditor should receive only a fourth part of the debtor's income, and that those who had exacted interest upon interest, should forfeit both the principal and interest. By his regulations the debts were cleared in four years, and the estates that had been mortgaged returned to the owners : yet these insatiable usurers still received double their principal sum ; but by creating interest upon interest, they had raised the debts to six times that amount, and pretended, that 120,000 talents † were due to them.

Hence the publicans and usurers, being thus deprived by *Lucullus* of their enormous profit, loudly complained that he had done them the greatest injury, and carrying their complaints to *Rome*, found mercenary pleaders there ready to undertake their cause ; and as many of the principal persons in the state had borrowed money of them, they had a very powerful interest. But *Lucullus* despising their clamours, indulged the delight of being incessantly blessed by the states he had ex-

* That is, one *per cent. per month*, which was the legal interest at *Rome*.

† About eighteen millions sterling.

tricated from misery. The fame of his justice and humanity even spread into the neighbouring provinces, who all envied the happiness of those who had such a governor.

Appius Clodius, brother to *Lucullus's* wife, had been sent ambassador to *Tigranes*, and trusting to the guides provided by the country, was led round through the remote provinces; but being at last made sensible of their treachery, he dismissed these barbarians, and leaving that long and deceitful road, soon passed the *Euphrates*, and arrived at *Antiochia* of *Daphne*, where he was ordered to wait for *Tigranes*, who was then reducing those towns in *Phœnicia*, that had not yet submitted to him.

In this interval *Clodius* gained over to the interest of the *Romans* many princes and great men, who had been forced to submit to the king of *Armenia*; and several of the conquered cities privately sending deputies to him, he assured them of *Lucullus's* assistance and protection; but advised them to lie still for the present; for the *Armenian* government was not only insupportable to the *Greeks*, but rendered still more grievous by the pride of the king. Success had rendered *Tigranes* so vain, that he imagined every thing valuable or excellent was designed for his use. From small beginnings he had subdued many nations; broken the power of the *Parthians*, and filled *Mesopotamia* with *Greeks*, whom he had transplanted from *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. He kept many kings

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in his court, who served him as slaves, of whom four were constantly about his person. These, when he rode on horseback, ran before him on foot, and when he gave audience on his throne, they stood near him with folded hands; a posture esteemed the most humble, and the strongest expression of subjection and fortitude.

Appius, far from being terrified at the insolence of this monarch, told him at the first audience, that he was come to demand *Mithridates*, a conquered enemy, destined to adorn the triumph of *Lucullus*, and in case of refusal, to declare war against *Trizanes*. At this speech the king affected to smile, tho' he could not forbear changing colour; however, he had the presence of mind to answer, that he would not deliver up *Mithridates*, his father-in-law; and if the *Romans* thought proper to attack him, he should know how to defend himself. He gave the ambassador a letter for *Lucullus* to the same purpose, and being offended that the *Roman* general had not given him the title of *King of Kings*, but only that of *King*, he caused to be wrote on the superscription only the name of *Lucullus*, without adding his quality as general. He did not, however, omit sending *Appius* the customary presents; when he refusing them, *Tigranes* sent him others more considerable, on which the *Roman*, being unwilling to have it thought that he was influenced by aversion or hatred to the king, accepted a cup,

cup, and returned with great expedition to *Lucullus*.

This embassy was of advantage to *Mithridates*, to whom *Tigranes* had not yet condescended to speak, notwithstanding his being his father-in-law, and his being fallen from the possession of a mighty empire; but kept him at a distance guarded like a prisoner of state. He, however, now sent for him to court, and treated him in the most honourable and friendly manner. The two kings began by explaining themselves frankly in relation to the suspicions they had conceived of each other: this cost some of their favourites very dear, upon whom they laid the blame of their misunderstandings. Among those who perished on this account, was *Metrodorus* of *Scepsis*, a man equally admired for his learning and eloquence, who had been so far admitted into the friendship and confidence of *Mithridates*, that he used to call him his father. Yet *Metrodorus*, on an important occasion, had forgot what he owed his master: for *Mithridates* having sent him to demand aid of *Tigranes* against the *Romans*, that king ask'd him what he would advise him to do? To which he replied, As ambassador I must press you to comply, but as your friend do not give you that advice. *Tigranes* repeated this to *Mithridates*, who having for some time before been dissatisfied with *Metrodorus*, immediately put him to death. *Tigranes* did not think that the thing would have been carried so far, and was sorry for the

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the death of a person whose secret he himself had betrayed. He therefore gave him a magnificent funeral: a late and frivolous amends for the loss of life by his indiscretion.

Lucullus having established wholesome laws and a lasting peace in *Asia*, gave a loose to pleasure, and during his residence at *Ephesus*, gratified the people with feasts, and combats of wrestlers and gladiators. In return, they instituted games in honour of him, which they called *Lucullian*; and gave him also the strongest proofs of real affection, which afforded him more pleasure than all the honours they could bestow.

Lucullus had no sooner received the answer of *Tigranes*, than he marched again into *Pontus* *, and laid siege to *Sinope* †, or rather to the *Cilicians*, who had seized that city for the king, and upon *Lucullus's* approach, had put most of the inhabitants to the sword; after which, as many *Cilicians* as were able made their escape by the favour of the night, having first set fire to the city. Upon this *Lucullus* entered the place with his troops, and having put to death 8000 of the *Cilicians* who had been left behind, restored to the natives all their effects that could be recovered, and made

* The ancient name of the country situated on the south side of the *Euxine* sea, now subject to the *Turks*.

† A sea port town on the *Euxine* sea.

use of his utmost endeavours to save the city.

Some time after, *Lucullus* received ambassadors from *Machabes*, one of the sons of *Mithridates*, who reigned by the *Bosphorus*. That prince seeing his father abandoned by all his subjects, abandoned him also, and sent *Lucullus* a crown valued at 1000 pieces of gold, desiring to be declared a friend and ally of the *Romans*. *Lucullus* now seeing the first war at an end, left *Sornatius* with 6000 men, and marched himself with 12,000 foot, and less than 3000 horse, against *Tigranes*. This enterprize was thought extremely rash by many, who were amazed at his venturing with so few troops to march against so many warlike nations, into an immense country, abounding in large and deep rivers, and mountains covered with eternal snow: so that the soldiers, who were at best not very tractable, followed him with great reluctance and discontent.

That great general however pursued his plan, and by long marches soon reached the banks of the *Euphrates*, when he found that river much swelled by the winter rains and snow, which rendered the stream deep and rapid. This gave him great uneasiness; but towards the evening, the flood began to abate, and that night sunk so considerably, that the next morning he found the river not only confined within its ordinary channel, but more shallow than usual. This event seemed a prodigy to the people of the country, who considered *Lucullus* as some deity who had forced

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forced the river to submit, and to yield him a safe and easy passage.

The *Romans* made haste to seize the opportunity, and without much difficulty passed the *Euphrates*. That day he encamped on the bank of the river, and the next proceeded through the province of *Sophene*, using no manner of violence to the people of the country. In his march, the soldiers being desirous of storming a castle which was said to be full of riches: "There's the castle we must storm," said he, pointing to mount *Taurus*; what we leave behind us will be the reward of our victory." He accordingly continued his march, and crossing the *Tigris*, entered *Armenia*.

The first person who brought *Tigranes* the news of *Lucullus's* approach, was rewarded for this service with the loss of his head; by which others were so intimidated, that none were so bold as to give him any information: thus, while his dominions were actually ravaged by fire and sword, he was ridiculously flattered by his courtiers, who told him, That *Lucullus* must be a great general indeed, if he only ventured to stay for him at *Ephesus*, and did not fly immediately from *Asia*, on seeing the innumerable multitude of soldiers he had to oppose him. The first of his friends who had the courage to tell him the truth was *Mithridates*, when *Tigranes*, always besotted with his grandeur, immediately sent him with 3000 horse, and a numerous body of foot, ordering him to bring *Lucullus*

alive, and to put every other man to the sword.

Part of *Lucullus's* army were pitching their camp, and the rest were marching to join them, when he was informed by the scouts that the Barbarians were approaching. Apprehensive of being attacked in that situation, he sent *Sextilius* his lieutenant, with 600 horse, and a somewhat greater number of the soldiers of the legions and light-arm'd infantry, with orders to halt at some distance from the enemy, and wait till the camp was compleated. *Sextilius* found it impossible to obey these orders: for *Mithrobarzanes* advancing, charged him with such fury, as obliged him to stand upon his defence, when an engagement ensuing, *Mithrobarzanes* was slain fighting with great courage and resolution, and almost all his men were cut to pieces in their flight.

Upon this *Tigranes* immediately quitted *Tigranocerta*, his capital, which he had built himself, and retiring to mount *Taurus*, summoned his forces from all quarters to join him. *Lucullus* instantly sent out different detachments, in order to prevent the junction of the troops. *Sextilius* attacked the *Arabians* as they were forming their camp, and slew the greatest part of them, while *Murena*, following *Tigranes*, fell upon him in a pass; threw his troops into disorder; slew a great number of them, and forced the king himself to fly with precipitation, leaving all his baggage to the victor.

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In order to induce *Tigranes* to come to a general battle, *Lucullus* resolved to besiege *Tigranocerta*, where there were many *Greeks*, who had been removed thither out of *Cilicia*, and many Barbarians in the same circumstances with the *Greeks*, whose towns had been destroyed by *Tigranes*, in order to compel them to settle in his new city. Besides, it was exceeding rich and magnificent; the inhabitants, in compliment to the king, contributing all in their power to enrich and adorn it *. *Lucullus* was persuaded that *Tigranes* would offer him battle, in order to make him raise the siege. *Mithridates* indeed earnestly pressed that prince, by letters and messages, not to hazard an engagement; but only to employ his cavalry in cutting off *Lucullus's* convoys. Even *Taxiles*, *Mithridates's* ambassador, who continued with him in his

* This city, founded by *Tigranes*, and to which he had given his own name, *Trigano-certa* signifying the city of *Tigranes*, was extremely dear to that prince. He had fortified it with walls fifty cubits high, and of such thickness, that at bottom they included stables for a great number of horses. He added a citadel, and built him a palace. In the suburbs he had parks of a vast extent for hunting, and great pools of water. This prince had spared no expence in adorning it with fine buildings, and it was full of riches, with the paintings, and statues of the greatest masters.

camp, conjured him, if possible, to avoid engaging so invincible an enemy as the Romans.

Tigranes at first listened to this advice: but when he saw a great number of different nations assembled round him, *Armenians* and *Gordyenians*, *Medes* and *Adiebenians*, led by their kings; *Arabians* from the banks of the *Babylonian* sea, and a multitude of *Albanians* and *Iberians* from the *Caspian*; and even the free nations in the neighbourhood of the river *Araxes*, who being subject to no princes, were allured by the presents and pay of the king of *Armenia*, he resumed his courage; and now nothing was heard but empty menaces and insolent bravadoes. Even *Taxiles* was in danger of his life for presuming to give his opinion contrary to those who were for fighting; and *Mitridates* himself was charged with envy, and desiring to deprive his son-in-law of the honour of so glorious a victory. *Tigranes*, lest that prince should share in the honour of the day, would not wait for his arrival; but saying that he was very sorry he had only *Lucullus*, and not all the *Roman* generals together to fight, began his march with his whole army; which consisted of 20,000 archers and slingers, and 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which were compleatly covered with steel armour. His infantry amounted to 150,000, and his pioneers and other workmen to 35,000. When this prodigious army had passed mount *Taurus*, and was near enough to be perceived from *Tigranocerta*,

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granocerta, the besieged raised cries of joy, and menaced the *Romans* from the tops of the walls, by shewing them the immense army marching to their relief.

Lucullus now calling a council of war, some were for raising the siege. and marching against *Tigranes*; and others were of a contrary opinion: on which he told them, that each of their opinions was separately wrong, but that both together were right. He accordingly left *Murena* with 6000 foot before the place, while with the rest of the infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, amounting in all to no more than 10,000 men, with all his cavalry, and about 1000 slingers and archers, he advanced boldly against *Tigranes*, and encamped in a large plain, by the side of a river.

The king and his flatterers, on seeing this handful of men, made themselves very merry at their expence, and some of them cast lots for the spoils. Each of the kings and generals that composed the court of *Tigranes*, desired to have charge of the engagement, while the king sat as a spectator of the combat, and *Tigranes* uttered on this occasion that celebrated saying, "If they come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few." Thus the first day passed in jests and bravadoes.

The next morning *Lucullus* drawing out his army, prepared to pass the river. The Barbarians were to the east; but as the river made an angle to the west at the place where it was

fordable, *Lucullus* in moving hastily to it, turned his back on the enemy. Upon this *Tigranes*, who perceived them, began to triumph, and calling *Taxiles*, "See, said he, your invincible *Romans*; see how they fly!" "I wish, Sir, replied *Taxiles*, that your good fortune may this day produce a miracle in your favour; but soldiers do not shew their polished shields, and cover their heads with their helmets when they only intend to march." While he was still speaking, the *Roman* eagles wheeled about, followed by the whole column, in order to pass the river. "How, cried *Tigranes*, two or three times, these men are coming to us!" He then drew up his army with great disorder and confusion: took the command of the main body himself: the right wing he gave to the king of the *Medes*, and the left to the king of the *Adiabeniensians*, placing most of the heavy cavalry in the front of the right wing.

When *Lucullus* was preparing to pass the river, he was told that it was an unlucky day; it being the 6th of *October*, the day in which *Cæpio* had been formerly defeated by the *Cimbri*, and from that time had been marked as ominous in the *Roman* calendar. "Well then, said *Lucullus*, I am going to make it a happy day to the *Romans*." At the same time he passed the river, and marched first towards the enemy, dressed in a bright coat of mail, covered with shining scales, and a robe with deep fringes; when brandishing his

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his naked sword, he shewed his troops that it was necessary to close with an enemy accustomed to fight at a distance, and by the speed of their march to render their archers unserviceable for want of room. Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the enemy placed their chief confidence, were drawn up at the foot of a hill, he commanded his *Thracian* and *Galatian* horse to take them in flank, and to beat down their lances, in which their whole strength consisted; as without them they would be incapable of action, from the stiffness and weight of their armour. At the same time *Lucullus*, at the head of two cohorts, pushed forward to the top of the hill, and having gained the summit, cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is ours, my fellow soldiers, the victory is ours!" Then ordering his soldiers to aim at the legs and thighs of these armed troops, which were the only uncovered parts of their bodies, he rushed down upon them: but these heavy cavalry had not the courage to wait their approach, they shamefully fled with great noise and clamour, without striking a stroke, and throwing themselves among the infantry, beat them down, and put them into disorder. Thus that prodigious army was overthrown before a wound was given, or a drop of blood spilt. The slaughter did not begin till they endeavoured to fly; and then they were obstructed by the depth of their battalions. *Tigranes* had fled one of the first, with a few of his attendants,

dants, and observing his son in the same condition with himself, he took off his diadem, and weeping, gave it him, desiring him at the same time to turn off a different way. The young prince, however, not daring to put on the diadem, gave it to one of his most trusty servants, who being taken prisoner, was conducted to *Lucullus*; and thus the diadem of *Tigranes* made a part of the spoils that fell into the hands of the victors. The slaughter of the enemy was prodigious, for it is said, that 100,000 of the infantry were slain, and that few of the horse escaped, while the *Romans* had only 100 men wounded, and five killed. *Livy* observes, that the *Romans* had never gained a victory, in which their number was so greatly inferior to that of the enemy; for the conquerors were not the 20th part of the conquered.

Lucullus was commended by the most experienced commanders for having conquered two great and powerful kings, by different methods, protraction and expedition. For he destroyed the flourishing power of *Mithridates* by delays, and that of *Tigranes* by attacking him suddenly and with vigour.

Mithridates was informed of his ally's defeat by those who met him in their flight; and immediately going in search of *Tigranes*, he found him entirely abandoned, dejected, terrified, and in want of every thing: but instead of following his example, by insulting him in his misfortunes, he alighted from his horse, deplored with him their common

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mon misfortunes, caused him to be attended by his own guards, and endeavoured to revive his spirits, and animate him with fresh hopes. They then gave the necessary orders for raising another army.

Soon after a terrible sedition arose in *Tigranocerta*, between the *Greeks* * and Barbarians, the former being for surrendering to *Lucullus*; who, arriving there, took the city by storm. He seized the royal treasury, and gave up the city to be plunder'd by the troops, who, among other treasures, found 8000 talents † of silver coin; and the general farther distributed 800 drachmas ‡ to each soldier. *Tigranes* had drawn to that city a number of comedians, musicians, and dancers, whom the conqueror reserved to celebrate the games he should give at his triumph. The *Greeks* he sent home, allowing them money for the

* *Manceus*, the governor, distrusting the *Greeks*, had them disarmed; on which taking clubs, and wrapping their habits round their left arms, to serve instead of bucklers, they fought the armed Barbarians, and as fast as they beat them down, seized their weapons. They were then in a condition to give terror; and having made themselves masters of some of the towers that flanked the walls, they called to the *Romans*, and assisted them in entering. *Rollin's Rom. Hist.*

† About 1,200,000 l.

‡ About 20 l.

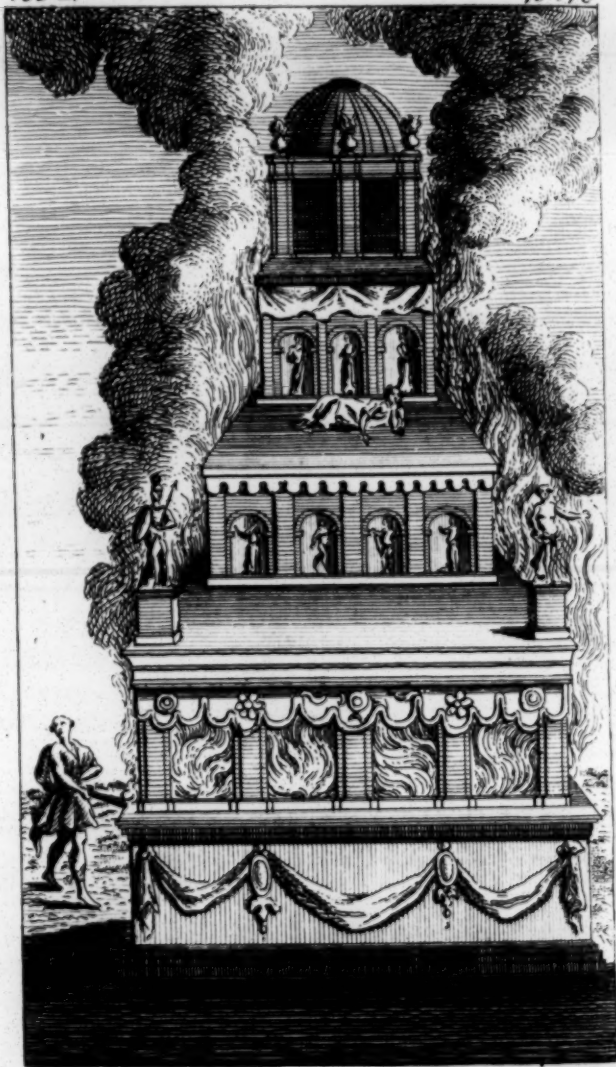
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expences of their journey : in the same manner he also treated the Barbarians whom *Tigranes* had forced from their own countries to settle at *Tigranocerta*, which was thus depopulated before it was entirely finished, and by that means many cities were re-peopled, and *Lucullus* honoured and beloved as their benefactor and second founder. He was desirous of being admired for his justice and humanity, and by these virtues, *Lucullus*, without the help of arms, gained the hearts of the Barbarians. The *Arabian* princes came and submitted to him : the whole nation of the *Sophenians* followed their example, and the *Gordyenians* even offered to quit their habitations, and to follow him with their wives and children. This warm attachment to *Lucullus* was occasioned by the following circumstance.

Appius Clodius being, as we have already observed, sent ambassador to *Tigranes*, that *Roman* knowing that *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordyenians*, bore with impatience the tyranny of *Tigranes*, entered into a negotiation with him ; but the affair being discovered, the king of the *Gordyenians*, with his wife and children, were put to death before *Lucullus* entered *Armenia*. *Lucullus* was not unmindful of this ally : he caused his funeral to be solemnized with magnificence, adorned the pile with gold and silver tissue, and other rich spoils ; set fire to it himself, and made the customary libations, with the relations and friends of *Zarbienus*. After which he erected

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erected a superb monument to his memory, out of part of the treasures he found in the palace of *Tigrans*. He likewise found in his magazines 3,000,000 of medimni of * corn, which was of the greatest service to the troops.

Mean while ambassadors arrived from the king of *Parthia*, desiring to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*. *Lucullus* embraced the proposal, and sent others on his part to the *Parthian* court; but they discovering, that while he was treating with the *Romans*, he was privately offering to assist *Tigranes*, on condition of having *Mejopotamia* delivered up to him, *Lucullus* resolved to give over the pursuit of *Mithridates* and *Tigrans*, and to invade *Parthia*; thinking it would redound much to his honour to subdue successively three of the greatest kingdoms in the world in one single expedition. He accordingly sent orders to *Sernatius*, and other officers in *Pontus*, to join him with their forces; but they who had on other occasions experienced the stubborn and mutinous temper of the soldiers, could now, neither by entreaties nor menaces, prevail on them to march; for they loudly protested, that they would abandon *Pontus*, and return home. The example of this disobedience reached *Lucullus's* camp, where it spread like a contagion. His soldiers grown rich, and accustomed to voluptuousness, commended them for their re-

* About fifteen millions of our bushels.

solution, and were also for renouncing the fatigues of war, and enjoying repose, insisting that they had served long enough, and had a right to be discharged.

These murmurs forced *Lucullus* to quit his design of making war on the *Parthians*, and accordingly he marched against *Tigranes*. He several times defeated the *Armenians*, who disputed his passage, foraged about the country, and intercepted a convoy of provisions going to *Tigranes*. That prince he endeavoured to draw to a battle, sometimes by shutting him up in his camp, and throwing intrenchments round it, and at others by burning and destroying the country: but finding all to no purpose, he resolved to march to *Artaxata*, the capital of *Armenia*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and young children; imagining that his love to them would induce him to hazard a battle, rather than tamely suffer that place to be lost.

Lucullus was no sooner on his march in order to lay siege to *Artaxata*, than *Tigranes*, being solicitous to prevent him, assembled all his forces, and in four days time came within sight of the *Romans*, who were on the opposite bank of the river *Arjanias*. *Lucullus* having offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving, as if he had been already sure of the victory, passed the river in order of battle with twelve cohorts in front, while the rest were so disposed as to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy; for they perceived a numerous and select body of cavalry drawn up

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against them: in the front was the *Mardian* archers on horseback, and the *Iberian* spearmen, in whom *Tigranes* placed his chief confidence. These however only skirmished a little with the *Roman* horse, but being unable to withstand the legions, were broken and put to flight. Upon this *Tigranes* order'd his other cavalry to advance; when *Lucullus* observing their numbers, became doubtful of success: he therefore recalled his horse from the pursuit, and instantly advanced against the *Satrapenians*, who were coming to attack him; but before they had advanced nigh enough to charge, they all turned back and fled. Of the three kings that were present in the battle, *Mithridates* seems to have fled most shamefully. The pursuit lasted the whole night, till at length the *Romans*, tired with slaughter, and loaded with money and other valuable booty, gave over the chase. According to *Livy*, greater numbers fell in the former battle, but more persons of note were killed and taken in this.

Flushed with this victory, *Lucullus* resolved to march into the upper provinces, in order to compleat his conquests: but though the autumnal Equinox was not yet passed, the weather suddenly grew tempestuous and severe; great quantities of snow fell, and in the clearest days the country was covered with an hoar-frost. The country being exceeding woody, the soldiers could not march in the day, without being wet with the snow falling from the trees; and they were obliged to en-

camp at night in wet and miry places. These difficulties, after a few days march, made the soldiers begin to mutiny*.

They were indeed at first contented with sending their officers to lay their complaints before the general: but obtaining no advantage from this method, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, and during the night, nothing was heard but a confused noise from their tents. *Lucullus* in vain pressed and entreated them to have but a little patience, till they had taken the *Carthage* of *Armenia*, and destroyed the work of *Hannibal* †, their greatest enemy: but finding them inflexible, he repassed mount *Taurus*, and laid siege to *Nisibis*, a city situated in a mild climate, and in a fertile country.

In that important city *Guras*, the brother of *Tigranes*, had the title of governor; but *Callimachus*, who had defended *Amisus* against the *Romans*, was on account of his experience in war, and his being an excellent engineer, intrusted with the actual command. *Lucullus* tried every method of attack, and soon took the town by storm. *Guras*, who

* What *Plutarch* here observes with respect to the severe climate of Upper *Armenia*, is confirmed by modern travellers. See Sir *John Chardin's Travels* through that country in *The World displayed*, vol. xv. chap. v.

† The city of *Artaxata* was said to have been built by *Hannibal*.

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became his prisoner, he treated with favour and humanity: but tho' *Callimachus* promised to discover immense hidden treasures, he would not hear him; he caused him to be laid in irons, in order to be punished for setting fire to *Amisus*, and putting it out of his power to shew his kindness and generosity to the *Greeks*.

Lucullus had hitherto experienced the most glorious success; but from this time he was obliged to struggle against continual opposition. It must be allowed, that he had always the same virtue, and the courage and patience of a brave commander; but the lustre, the felicity of success was wanting in all his enterprises, and miscarrying in every undertaking, he was near losing the glory of his past victories. This was principally owing to his taking no pains to conciliate the affections of his soldiers. He had always looked upon every step taken to please those whose duty it was to obey, as tending to disgrace and ruin his authority. His haughtiness rose so high, as to observe no forms even with the principal officers of his army, and such as might become his equals. Thus no human being is exempt from imperfection. *Lucullus* in every other respect appears a most accomplished person; a great general; a great orator; and one who loved and cultivated the sciences: he was endued with the strictest probity, and was capable of meriting esteem and admiration both in peace and war: he only wanted the art of rendering himself beloved.

The bad disposition of the army was encreased by the news, that the orators at *Rome* accused *Lucullus* of prolonging the war merely to gratify his avarice and ambition; and that the people had decreed, that the oldest of the troops, especially *Fimbria's* legions, should be dismissed, and other commanders appointed to carry on the war. To add to the general discontent, *Publius Clodius*, brother to *Lucullus's* wife, was then in the army: he was a man void of all honour and probity, and being exasperated at *Lucullus's* not promoting him as he thought he deserved, flattered the soldiers, and excited them to sedition. Thus they refused to follow *Lucullus* against *Tigranes*, and even against *Mithridates*, who had quitted *Armenia*, and recovered a part of *Pontus*. But at length hearing that he had defeated *Fabius*, and was marching against *Sornatius* and *Triarius*, they submitted to follow their general. *Triarius* being however informed of the approach of *Lucullus*, resolved to engage before he should join him, in order to deprive him of the glory of the victory; but he was entirely defeated; above 7000 *Romans* were slain, and the camp taken. *Lucullus* came up soon after, and saved *Triarius* from the fury of the soldiers.

Mithridates knowing that *Tigranes* was on his march to join him with a powerful army, avoided coming to an engagement with *Lucullus*. On which the latter resolved to meet *Tigranes* and fight him: but in this march
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the mutinous *Fimbrians* deserted their colours, declaring that they were disbanded by a decree of the senate. *Lucullus* went from tent to tent with a look of sorrow and dejection, intreating and persuading them; but all in vain. However, by the persuasions of the other soldiers, they were at last prevailed upon to stay that summer, on condition, that if no enemy offered to attack them, they should be discharged. To this *Lucullus* was forced to consent; but having no power over the soldiers, he was compelled to remain inactive, while *Cappadocia* * was ravaged by *Tigranes*, and forced to bear the insults of *Mithridates*, after his having informed the senate that he had subdued those princes. The senate, on receiving this news, sent commissioners to regulate the state of the new conquests; but on their arrival, they found that *Lucullus* was so far from being master of the enemy's country, that he was not even master of himself, the soldiers treating him with the utmost derision and contempt. Towards the end of summer, they put on their armour, drew their swords, and defying their enemies who were out of their reach, left the camp with loud shouts and mock skirmishes, declaring, that the time they had engaged to remain with *Lucullus* was expired.

In the mean time, by the artful practices of the tribunes, and the favour of the people, *Pompey* was declared general in the war

* Part of *Natolia*, or *Asia Minor*.

against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, tho' it appeared to the senate, that this was extremely unjust, since *Lucullus* was not so properly forced to give up the command, as to resign the rewards he had so justly merited. *Pompey* on his arrival would not suffer any applications to be made to *Lucullus*, nor any notice to be taken of the orders he had made in conjunction with ten deputies that had been sent to him by the senate. However, their common friends endeavoured to procure them an interview, and accordingly the two generals had a meeting at an obscure village near *Galatia*. They began with congratulating each other on the victories they had obtained. *Lucullus* had the advantage of years, and *Pompey* in dignity, he having been honoured with two triumphs. Both had their fasces encircled with laurel carried before them in token of their victories: but as *Pompey* had in his march passed through a dry and desert region, his laurels were withered: on which the lictors of *Lucullus* politely gave them some of theirs, which were fresh and green. Trifling as this circumstance appears, the friends of *Pompey* considered it as an omen that the trophies of *Lucullus* should serve to exalt *Pompey's* glory. The conference however produced no good effect; they came to no agreement, and parted more dissatisfied than when they met. *Pompey* took his army from him, leaving him only 4600 men to attend his triumph, and even these followed *Lucullus* with reluctance.

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The Interview between TULLIUS and POMPEY.

Lucullus on his arrival at *Rome*, found that *Caius Memmius* had just accused his brother *Marcus* for what he had done when quæstor by *Sylla's* command. On his being acquitted, *Memmius* opposed *Lucullus* himself, and persuaded the people to deny him a triumph, under the pretence that he had appropriated to his own use a great part of the treasure that belonged to the public, and had unnecessarily prolonged the war: but the principal persons in the city exerting themselves, at length prevailed on the people to grant him that honour.

At this triumph a great number of warlike machines were placed in the *Flaminian* circus. In the procession marched a body of horse compleatly armed, with ten chariots armed with scythes, followed by sixty of the chief friends and officers of *Mithridates*; and after them were drawn 110 galleys with brazen beaks. Next appeared a golden statue of *Mithridates*, six feet high, with a shield set with precious stones; followed by twenty litters, containing silver vessels, and thirty-two others that contained vessels of gold, armour of the same metal, and gold coin. These carriages were borne by men. After them came eight mules laden with beds of gold; fifty-six with silver bullion, and 107 more with all the silver coin, amounting to almost two millions, seven hundred thousand drachmas. The triumph concluded with a magnificent feast for the whole city, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages.

As *Lucullus* had acquired much credit and authority by his great employments and services, the senate hoped that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of *Pompey*, and a support to the nobility; but they were mistaken; for he refused to have any share in the government, and chose to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity and repose. He abandoned himself to pleasure and luxury; to the building of magnificent houses; and to the making collections, at a vast expence, of the finest pictures and statues. Hence *Tubero* the stoic, on viewing his buildings near *Naples*, where he cut through hills, and supported them with arches, brought in the sea to form moats and fish-ponds round his house, and erected pleasure-houses in the water, called him *Xerxes in a Roman gown*. He had also near *Tusculum* villas adorned with galleries, open on every side for the benefit of the prospect, with elegant apartments and noble walks. An extraordinary ostentation of wealth appeared in his daily repasts, at which his beds were spread with the richest purple carpets, and his side-boards decorated with plate adorned with precious stones; he was attended by musicians and comedians, and the provisions were of the most exquisite kind. Thus wantonly did *Lucullus* employ his wealth, treating it like what it really was, a captive and a Barbarian.

He was however at other expences, which were much more honourable: he made a collection of a great number of the most valuable

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luable books; and then generously permitted the library to be open to all who came; for every one had access to the walks, galleries, and cabinets belonging to it. The *Greeks* then at *Rome* repaired to it as to the residence of the *Muses*, and spent whole days in learned conversations. With them *Lucullus* often walked in the galleries, and when they desired it, would assist them in the management of their affairs. So that this house might be justly called the *Prytaneum* of *Greece*. As *Lucullus* had a great esteem for philosophy in general, he was an enemy to none of the sects into which it was divided; but his particular attachment was to the old academy, the doctrines of which were maintained with great eloquence and force of argument by *Antiochus* of *Ascalon*, whom he entertained in his own house, and set him up in opposition to *Philo*, among whose auditors was *Cicero*, who wrote an excellent treatise against the old academy, in which he makes *Lucullus* maintain the opinion of that sect, which asserts, that there are things wherein man may arrive at certain knowledge. *Cicero* himself maintained the contrary opinion, which was that of the new academy.

In the mean while *Lucullus*, when it was necessary to serve his friends, went to the assembly of the people; as he also did to the senate, whenever he could be of use in curbing the ambition of *Pompey*. He caused all the edicts *Pompey* had published after reducing the two kings to be revoked; and in conjunction with

Cato,

Cato, prevented a law he had proposed for the division of lands to the soldiers. Upon this *Pompey* joined with *Crassus* and *Cæsar*, and filling the city with armed men, drove *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the assembly, and established his decrees by force.

Pompey's party finding these proceedings highly resented by the nobility, suborned one *Vectius* to pretend that a design was formed against *Pompey's* life. *Vectius*, on being examined by the senate named others, without mentioning *Lucullus*; yet, in an assembly of the people, he charged *Lucullus* with employing him to murder *Pompey*. Nobody gave the least credit to this deposition; every one being convinced that he was hired to give this evidence. This opinion was a few days after confirmed by the body of this wretch being found at the prison door. It was indeed pretended that he had murdered himself; but the marks of the cord with which he had been strangled, and of the blows he had received, shewed that he had been murdered by the very persons by whom he had been employed. This served to encrease *Lucullus's* disinclination to public affairs; and he entirely withdrew himself from them on *Cicero's* being banished, and *Cato's* being sent to *Cyprus*.

Lucullus, some time before his death, grew mopeish and stupid, so that his brother had the management of his affairs: and yet when he died, the people were as much afflicted, as if he had fallen in the height of his glory. They flocked together in crowds; and, as
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some young men of the first quality were carrying his corpse into the Forum, insisted that he should be interred in the *Campus Martius*, where *Sylla* had been interred; but his brother by his entreaties prevailed on them to suffer him to be buried, as was at first intended, at his country-seat at *Tusculum*.

If we compare *Lucullus* with *Cimon*, we shall find that they have some resemblance in the happy period in which both died. The former closed his eyes before he had seen those great and bloody revolutions which were then preparing; as did *Cimon* while the *Greeks* were still united and flourishing. But in this they differed, *Cimon* expired in his camp: he was not divested of the command; and had not given himself up to luxury, indolence, and inactivity. They were both rich, but did not make the same use of their riches. *Lucullus's* house at *Naples*, and the buildings he raised out of the water, from the spoils taken from the Barbarians, are not to be compared with the wall built on the south of the citadel of *Athens* with the money *Cimon* brought to that city. Nor had the table of *Lucullus* any resemblance to that of *Cimon*. *Lucullus* regaled only his luxurious friends, and that in a most magnificent and expensive manner. *Cimon's* was the table of charity and hospitality, at which he daily fed a great number at a small expence.

With respect to their military capacities, they were excellent commanders both
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by sea and land : but *Cimon*, who in one day obtained two crowns for *Greece*, the one in a victory by land, and the other at sea, seems to claim the preference to all other commanders. *Lucullus* was indebted for his authority to his country; but *Athens* was indebted for her's to *Cimon*. The former found *Rome* domineering over her allies, and employed their forces to extend her conquests: *Cimon* found *Athens* in a subordinate and dependant state, yet put it in her power to give law to her allies, and made her triumph over her enemies.

If gaining the affections of the soldiers, and rendering their obedience chearful and voluntary, be the greatest excellence in a general, how superior was *Cimon* to *Lucullus* in this respect! The one was deserted by his own soldiers, and the other courted even by foreign troops. *Lucullus* set out at the head of an army, and returned forsaken by those he had commanded. *Cimon* marched with forces, which, like him, were subject to the command of others, and gloriously returned with his troops, which had now the command of those to whom they were before in subjection.

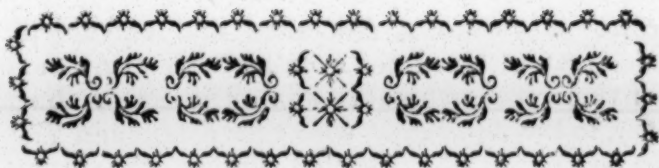
Lucullus however carried his arms much farther than *Cimon*: he was the first *Roman* that led an army over mount *Taurus*, and that passed the *Tigris*. He penetrated to the north as far as the river *Phasis*, to the east, as far as *Media*, and to the south, as far as the *Red-Sea*, subduing all to the *Roman* empire.

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pire. *Mithridates*, exhausted and enfeebled by *Lucullus*, durst not even lead his army out of their intrenchments against *Pompey*; but fled to the *Bosphorus*, where he died; and *Tigranes* unarmed, kneeled before the same *Pompey*, and taking his crown from his head, laid it at his feet, complimenting that general with what belonged to the triumph of *Lucullus*; and on *Pompey's* returning it, received it with tokens of the highest satisfaction.





THE
L I F E
O F
N I C I A S.



WE shall now compare the life of *Nicias* with that of *Crassus*, and the misfortunes of the former in *Sicily*, with those of the latter in *Parthia*.

Aristotle observes, that *there were at the same time in Athens three citizens, remarkably eminent for their paternal affection to the people, Nicias, the son of Niceratus, Thucydides, the son of Milesias, and Theramenes, the son of Agnon*: the last was however in this respect inferior to the other two; for he was of so inconstant a temper, that by sometimes siding with

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with one party, and sometimes with another, he obtained the name of *Buskin*. *Thucydides*, who was the eldest of these three, espoused the interest of the nobility, which frequently led him to oppose *Pericles*, who strove to ingratiate himself with the people. *Nicias*, tho' younger, was in some reputation, even during the life of *Pericles*, with whom he was sometimes joined in commission, and was frequently general alone. But soon after the death of *Pericles* he rose to the highest preferments, the nobility chusing him for their protector, against the insolence of *Cleon*, and yet he at the same time preserved his interest with the people, who from affection contri- buted to his advancement. His gravity, which was mixed with complaisance, greatly recommended him to the people; and his natural diffidence in affairs of government, with his dread of informers, tended to procure him their good-will: for the common- alty are always ready to promote such as stand in awe of them.

As *Pericles* ruled the commonwealth by the power of virtue, and the force of eloquence, he stood in no need of artifice to obtain the favour of the people; but *Nicias*, who was in these respects inferior to him, yet abounded in wealth, made use of that to render him- self popular, and entertained the people with more sumptuous dances, public games and shews, than had ever been known. One day, while he was exhibiting one of these shews, a slave of his came upon the stage,

who being to personate *Bacchus*, was very young, beautiful, and richly dressed. The *Athenians*, pleased with so agreeable an object, clapped their hands, and continued for some time to express their satisfaction and applause; when *Nicias* standing up, observed, That he thought it a great impiety any longer to detain in slavery a person who by the public voice had been likened to a deity, and immediately gave him his liberty.

To this day his offerings at *Delos** are mentioned as noble proofs of his devotion. Before his time the bands of musicians, sent by the cities of *Greece* to sing hymns to *Apollo*, generally proceeded with hurry and confusion. For as soon as the ship appeared, the inhabitants ran in crowds to the sea side, and without staying till the performers were landed, cried out with great impatience for them to begin: but when *Nicias* conducted this procession, he landed at the isle of *Rhenia*, with the musicians, the victims for the sacrifice, and every thing necessary for the festival, carrying with him a bridge he had caused to be made at *Athens*, for passing the narrow channel between the two islands. This was a magnificent piece of work adorned with gilding, fine paintings, and rich tapestry. *Nicias* caused it to be laid over the channel in the night-time, and early in the morning began the procession, the musicians marching

* *Delos*, one of the islands of the *Archipelago*, is now called *Serille*.

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in order in their costly habits, and singing as they passed over. After the sacrifices, the games, and the feast were over, he erected a brazen palm-tree as a present to the god, and bought a piece of land, the rent of which was to be annually laid out in a sacrifice and feast, at which they were to pray for the health and prosperity of *Nicias*.

All this magnificence has the appearance of ostentation, and a love of applause, yet from the rest of his behaviour, it seems to be purely the effect of his devotion; for he had an extraordinary dread of the divine powers, and, as *Thucydides* observes, was devout even to superstition. We are told in one of *Pasiphon's* dialogues, that he daily sacrificed to the gods, and kept a soothsayer in his house, whom he pretended to consult on the affairs of the commonwealth, tho' his enquiries generally related only to his own private affairs, and particularly to his silver mines, which were of great value. With this wealth he was extremely liberal; for he freely gave to those of whom he stood in fear, as well as to such as were worthy of his liberality. Hence his dread of informers was an annual revenue to knaves, and his humanity to honest men.

He observed, that the people readily made use of those who were distinguished by their eloquence, their bravery and conduct, whenever they wanted them; but were at the same time jealous of their abilities, and on all occasions endeavoured to check their

pride, and lessen their reputation. Hence he declined the command in all long and difficult expeditions. He resolved to hazard nothing; and therefore succeeded in all his undertakings. He never attributed his success to his own wisdom, courage, or conduct; but, to avoid envy, ascribed all to the favour of the gods. He took the island of *Cithæra*, which was commodiously situated for making incursions into *Laconia*; reduced several towns in *Thrace*, that had revolted from the *Athenians*; confined the *Megarensians* within their own walls, and conquered the island of *Manoa*. Marching from thence, he made a descent upon the territories of *Corinth*, and obtained an entire victory, in which many of the *Corinthians* were killed on the spot, and among the rest *Lycophron* their general. But having the misfortune to leave two of his soldiers unburied, without knowing it till it was too late, he slackened his sails, and tho' demanding leave to bury the dead was giving up all pretensions to the victory, he sent an herald to desire the permission to carry them off, for he rather chose to give up that honour, than to suffer two citizens to lie unburied. Afterwards having scoured the coast of *Laconia*, and defeated the *Lacedæmonians*, who made head against him, he took the fort of *Thyræa**, and brought the garrison to *Athens*.

* This fort was situated between *Laconia* and *Argos*, in the country now called the *Morea*....

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Demosthenes, one of the *Athenian* generals, having taken and fortified *Pylos**, the *Lacedæmonians* laid close siege to it both by sea and land; but being defeated in a naval engagement, threw about 400 *Spartans* into the island of *Sphacteria* †. The *Athenians* thought it of great consequence to take these men prisoners. But the siege of the island proved extremely difficult, for the country afforded them no water, and they could not obtain supplies without great labour and expence. This made the *Athenians* weary of the siege, and repent their having dismissed the ambassadors sent by the *Spartans* to negotiate a peace: a step which they had taken at the instigation of *Cleon*, who had opposed the peace in opposition to *Nicias*. But now hearing that the army was reduced by the want of necessities to great extremities, they turned their resentment against *Cleon*, who laid the whole blame on the cowardice of *Nicias*, and added, that if he had been general, the *Spartans* should not have held out so long. Upon this the *Athenians* taking him at his word, ordered him to go against them; at the same time *Nicias* rising up, gladly resigned his

* This was a small city of *Messenia*, situated about sixty *English* miles from *Lacedæmon*, in the ancient *Peloponnesus*, now the *Morea*.

† This little island lay opposite to the city; and from thence the besieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour shut up.

commission

commission to him, ordering him to raise what forces he thought necessary, and embark. *Cleon* surprized and confounded at being thus taken at his word, began to draw back; but the *Athenians* ordering him to depart, and *Nicias* warmly insisting upon it, he instantly became fired with courage and ambition, and declared that within twenty days after he embarked, he would either kill the enemy upon the spot, or bring them prisoners to *Athens*. The *Athenians* were ready to laugh at this bravado; for they had often been diverted by his levity and extravagancies. However, he, in conjunction with *Demosthenes*, was so fortunate as to defeat these *Spartans*, and to return with all that had not been killed in the battle. This success was very prejudicial to *Nicias*, who was now charged with declining the command of the army out of cowardice.

Cleon and *Brasidas*, the principal persons who opposed the peace of *Greece*, being afterwards both slain in an engagement near *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* perceiving that the *Spartans* were filled with pacific sentiments, and that the *Athenians* had no great inclination to the war, used his utmost endeavours to re-establish a friendship between the two states, and to secure the happiness of *Greece* to after ages. He sounded the wealthy, the aged, and the husbandmen, and found them all inclined to peace, and by his arguments in private rendered many of the others less eager for a war. He then gave the *Lacedæmonians*

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hopes of enjoying this blessing, and advised them to propose an accommodation.

Already had both parties taken one step towards a peace, by consenting to a cessation of arms for a year, which being spent in mutual converse, and the pleasure resulting from a free intercourse with strangers, as well as friends, they insensibly grew averse to war, and heard with joyful acclamations the chorus in their tragedies sing,

*Rest my lance, let no man mind thee,
'Till around the cob-webs bind thee.*

And *Nicias* was considered as a man beloved by the gods, and as one who had put an end to all their calamities.

The peace was therefore concluded, by the articles of which it was agreed, that all places and prisoners should be restored by both parties, and that the lot should determine who should first begin the restitution. But while these affairs were in agitation, *Alcibiades*, who hated the *Spartans* for making all their applications to *Nicias*, while they took no notice of him, endeavoured from the beginning to break off the negociations. Therefore some time after seeing the *Athenians* somewhat offended, because the *Lacedæmonians* entered into a league with the *Bæotians*, and at their not delivering up *Panactus* and *Amphipolis* in the same situation as that they were in at the conclusion of the treaty, he seized this opportunity to irritate the

the people, and at the same time endeavoured to form a confederacy between the *Athenians* and *Argives*.

The *Spartans* upon this sent ambassadors with full power to *Athens*, who having an audience in the senate, every one approved their proposals; when *Alcibiades* apprehending that they would bring over the people, resolved to circumvent them by a treacherous artifice. He assured them with an oath, that provided they would deny their having full powers, which he said was necessary to their succeeding in their negociation, he would assist them as far as he was able. Thus were they induced to abandon *Nicias*, and attach themselves to him. Having afterwards brought them to the assembly of the people, he asked if they had full powers to settle every thing in dispute between the two states; and they declaring they had not, he, to their great astonishment, called the council to witness their declaration before them, and exhorted the people to give no credit to such notorious liars, as would affirm a thing one day, and deny it the next. The ambassadors were confounded. *Nicias* himself was struck with amazement, and knew not what to say, and the people called for the ambassadors of *Argos*, in order to enter into an alliance with them. But at that instant an earthquake happening, the assembly suddenly broke up.

The people however assembled again the next day, when *Nicias*, with much difficulty, prevailed on them to defer the treaty
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with the *Argives*, and to send him ambassador to *Sparta*. At his arrival in that city, the *Lacedæmonians* treated him with the greatest respect; but refused to conclude the treaty; and he returned with his mind filled with the apprehensions of his suffering from the resentment of his countrymen, which was aggravated by his having before released a number of prisoners, some of whom were of the best families in *Sparta*. However, their indignation proceeded no farther than to make choice of *Alcibiades* for their general. At the same time they entered into an alliance with the *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, and *Argives*, and renewed the war, by sending some troops to *Pylos* to ravage *Laconia*.

The enmity between *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* was at the height when the ostracism was expected; for the *Athenians* were accustomed to have recourse to this at different periods, when they were disposed to rid themselves for ten years of any person whom they suspected and envied for his riches. The *Athenians* hated *Alcibiades* for his debauchery, and feared him for his boldness and intrepidity, while they envied *Nicias* for his wealth, and were offended at his opposing their darling schemes, and forcing them against their will, upon those measures that were most beneficial to the public. The first of these parties were for making the ostracism fall upon *Alcibiades*, and the others for turning it against *Nicias*.

The

The city being thus divided into two factions, made room for the advancement of the most profligate of mankind, among whom was *Hyperbolus*, who flattering himself, that if the lot fell either on *Nicias* or *Alcibiades*, he should be able to form a party against him that escaped, was highly pleased at this dissention, and irritated the people against them both, but *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* seeing through his design, had a private meeting, when agreeing to unite their interest, they both escaped, and the sentence fell on *Hyperbolus*. The people at first laughed; but when they reflected, they were extremely provoked, that they had disgraced the sentence, by inflicting it on so unworthy an object, since he received the same punishment for his crimes that had been inflicted on men of worth for their virtues, and therefore no person after him was ever banished by the ostracism.

About this time ambassadors arrived at *Athens* from the *Leontines* and *Ægestians*, to press the *Athenians* to carry the war into *Sicily*. This expedition was opposed by *Nicias* with the utmost vigour: but *Alcibiades* puffed up the people with such vain hopes, that both the young and the old employed themselves in drawing maps of *Sicily**; in talking of the sea with which it is surrounded; in describing its havens, and even the opposite coast of *Africa*; for they were now so infatuated, that *Sicily* was considered only as

* The reader may see a concise description of *Sicily* in *The World displayed*, vol. xi. p. 168.
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a place of arms, from whence they were to set out for the conquest of *Carthage*, and to make themselves masters of all the seas, as far as the pillars of *Hercules*.

Nicias continued to oppose these romantic schemes, tho' he had neither the nobility nor the people to support him, yet they not only passed the decree, but joined him in the supreme command with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*; for they built their hopes of success as much on his prudence and caution, as on the bravery of *Alcibiades*, and the mildness of *Lamachus*.

Nicias, in his opposition to this enterprize while it was under deliberation, shewed himself a wise and honest man: but when he saw that it was out of his power to prevent the war, or to get himself exempted from the command, his caution and timidity were unreasonable: he ought not to have been perpetually looking backward, nor to have incessantly repeated that the war was undertaken in opposition to all the maxims of prudence, and by that means to dispirit the soldiers, and damp that confidence and ardour which assure the success of all great enterprizes. He ought rather to have advanced boldly towards the enemy immediately, and to have bravely put his fortune to the trial. But when *Lamachus* proposed to sail directly to *Syracuse*, and give the enemy battle under the walls of that city, *Nicias* insisted that they should cruise round the island, alarm the coast, land a small supply of men for the *Ægeſians*, and then return to *Athens*.

Soon after the *Athenians* sent to recal *Alciades*; and after his departure *Nicias* had all the power and authority in his own hands: for tho' *Lamachus* was a man of bravery and activity, and upon all occasions ready to expose his person, he was so poor, that whenever he returned from the command of the army, he charged the public a small sum which he had laid out for cloaths. Looking therefore on him as his inferior, tho' he was a more able general, he managed the war in a dilatory manner, wasting his time in fruitless deliberations, and a timorous circumspection, sailing round the island, but keeping aloof from the enemy; and thus the high hopes which had animated his troops, became languid, and the fear and terror which had seized the enemy at the first appearance of so formidable a fleet, wearing off, they became filled with courage and confidence. After this he invested *Hybla*, a town of small consequence; but tho' it was ill fortified, he raised the siege in a few days. At last he retired to *Catana*, without performing any other action, but the demolishing of *Hycara*, a small town. Here it is said, that *Lais* the courtesan, who was then very young, and a virgin, was sold among other captives, and carried into *Peloponnesus*. Towards the close of summer, the *Syracusans* prepared to attack him, and their cavalry advanced to insult him in his camp, asking if he was not come to settle at *Catana*, instead of restoring the *Leontines* to their houses and possessions?

On

On this occasion *Nicias* was with much difficulty persuaded to sail for *Syracuse*. He now secretly sent a man from *Catana* to that city, who pretending to be a deserter, informed the *Syracusans*, that if they were willing to surprize the camp of the *Athenians*, they must come with their whole force, on a certain day, which he mentioned; for the *Athenians* spending most of their time in the city, those inhabitants who were in the interest of the *Syracusans*, and were very numerous, as soon as they appeared, would seize the city gates, and set fire to the *Athenian* fleet.

Having by this stratagem enticed the enemy out of the city, which was thus left defenceless, he sailed from *Catana*, entered *Syracuse*, and made choice of an advantageous piece of ground on which he encamped. The *Syracusans* afterwards returned from *Catana*, and drew up in order of battle before the city gates, on which he sallied out and routed them: the slaughter was not, however, very great; but this defeat put them into such a terrible consternation, that instead of the fifteen generals they had then in commission, they chose three others, to whom the people took an oath of obedience, and gave them full power to resolve and act as they thought proper.

As the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, which was enriched with many offerings of gold and silver, was situated near the camp, the *Athenians* were desirous of taking it; but *Ni-*

cias delayed to send any troops to seize it, by which means the *Syracusans* sent a detachment and secured it to themselves. *Nicias* behaved thus with design; for he imagined that the public would receive no advantage from the plunder, and that he should be charged with the guilt of sacrilege.

The news of the victory *Nicias* had obtained, soon spread all over *Sicily*; and yet he neglected to improve it: for he soon after withdrew his troops to *Naxos*, where the army lay in winter quarters at a vast expence. *Nicias* however, with the assistance of a few *Sicilians* who had revolted to him, performed some very inconsiderable actions, while the *Syracusans*, who had recovered from their fright, returned to *Catana*, ravaged the country, and burnt the *Athenian* camp. The blame of all was laid on *Nicias*, who spent that time in reasoning, debating, and contriving which he should have employed in action; and yet, when he was once engaged, his behaviour was faultless; for he was quick and active in executing, though he was slow and timorous in forming his resolutions.

Thus having resolved to return with his army before *Syracuse* *, he executed this design

* *Syracuse* stood on the eastern coast of *Sicily*. Its vast extent, the convenience of a double harbour, the strength of its fortifications, and the

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sign with such celerity and caution, that he made a descent on the peninsula of *Thapsus*, and seized the fort of *Epipolæ*, before the enemy had the least notion of his motions. On this occasion he routed a select body of infantry sent to the assistance of the fort, took 300 prisoners, and defeated their cavalry, which had till then been esteemed invincible.

But what most astonished the *Syracusans*, and seemed incredible to the *Greeks*, was, that in a very short time, he almost enclosed *Syracuse* with a wall, though it was at least equal in extent to *Athens*, and more difficult to be encompassed from the unevenness of the ground, and the marshes that lay near it. This great work was in a manner finished, though *Nicias* was all the while afflicted with the stone; which may be allowed as a just reason why it was not entirely compleated. Besides, the *Athenians* obtained many victories over the *Syracusans*, till the gods, or fortune declared against them, and gave them a check, at the very time when they were raised to the highest point of their power and greatness. In most of these actions, *Nicias* was present in person; but, when his dis-

the multitude and wealth of the inhabitants, then rendered it one of the greatest, the most beautiful, and most powerful of the *Grecian* cities.

ease encreased, and became very acute, he was forced to stay within the camp, attended by only a few servants.

Mean while *Lamachus*, who commanded in chief, came to an engagement with the *Syracusans*, who were drawing a wall from the city in order to hinder the *Athenians* from finishing theirs. The *Athenians* flushed with their former victories had the advantage; but pursuing the *Syracusans* too far, they left *Lamachus* almost alone to withstand the shock of the enemy's horse, commanded by *Callicrates*, an experienced officer of distinguished courage, who advancing at the head of his troop, challenged *Lamachus*, who immediately encountered him; but both being mortally wounded at the same time, fell down, and died together. On this the *Syracusans* carried off the body and arms of *Lamachus*, and without losing a moment's time, marched towards the *Athenian* camp, where *Nicias* lay without any guards for his defence. But he was no sooner informed of their approach, than being roused by the danger, he commanded those about him to set fire to the materials provided for the engines that lay under the wall, and to the engines themselves. This put a stop to the *Syracusans*, and saved *Nicias*, with the camp and all the treasures: for terrified at beholding the flames rising in vast columns, and spreading on every side, they hastily drew off, and retreated to the city.

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Nicias was now the sole commander, and had reason to entertain great hopes of success; for many of the cities revolted to him, and ships arrived from all parts, bringing provisions for his army. Even the *Syracusans* themselves thought it impossible for them to hold out much longer, and offered terms of accommodation.

In the mean time the *Spartans* sent a fleet to their relief, under the command of *Gylippus*, who, notwithstanding his being informed by the way of the extremities to which the *Syracusans* were reduced, continued his course for *Sicily*. For fame had every where spread the report, that the *Athenians*, being commanded by a general whom prudence, seconded by fortune, had rendered invincible, they carried all before them. *Nicias* himself, presuming on his forces and success, now lost his natural precaution, and being under no concern at the approach of *Gylippus*, neglected to oppose his landing, which he performed without the knowledge of *Nicias*, or any of the *Athenians*, at a considerable distance from *Syracuse*, and soon raised a numerous army.

At the instant when the city was ready to surrender, *Gongylus*, an officer belonging to a galley from *Corinth* arrived; and the people instantly flocking about him, he let them know, that a fleet commanded by *Gylippus* was sailing to their assistance. The *Syracusans* knew not how to give credit to the news, but while they were in suspense, an express came

came from *Gylippus*, who had landed, ordering them to march out and meet him.

Gylippus no sooner arrived before the town, than both he and *Nicias* drew up their troops in order of battle; but when the two armies were ready to engage, *Gylippus* laying down his arms, sent an herald to let the *Athenians* know, that if they would quit *Sicily*, they might retire in safety. To this declaration *Nicias* would not vouchsafe an answer: but some of the soldiers laughing, asked the herald, Whether the sight of the *Lacedæmonian* cloak and staff had put the *Syracusans* in a condition to despise the *Athenians*?

In the first encounter, the *Athenians* had the advantage, and among the slain was *Gongylus* of *Corinth*. But the next day *Gylippus* overthrew the *Athenians*, who fled to their camp. Immediately he employed the *Syracusans* in building a cross wall, with the stone and materials brought to finish that raised by the *Athenians*, in order to render their works useless, even if they should gain a victory.

Encouraged by this success, the *Syracusans* manned several galleys, and in the excursions of their cavalry took many prisoners. *Gylippus* in person visited the towns, and exhorted them to join him, which they immediately did. *Nicias* now relapsed into his former diffidence, and despairing of success, wrote to desire the *Athenians* to send another army, or to withdraw that which was there,
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and to discharge him, who, on account of his infirmities, was unfit for the service. The *Athenians*, upon receiving this advice, decreed, that in the beginning of spring, *Demosthenes* should sail with a strong naval force, and that *Eurymedon* should immediately flee thither with six galleys, though it was the depth of winter, with pay for the soldiers; and that upon his arrival, he should declare *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, two officers who served under *Nicias*, joint commanders with him.

In the mean time *Nicias*, being attacked both by sea and land, his fleet had at first the disadvantage; but at last, victory turned to the side of the *Athenians*, who destroyed many of the enemy's galleys. *Nicias* was not so successful by land; for *Gylippus* took *Plemmirium* * at the first assault, and thus became master of all the treasure, the provisions and naval stores, which had been lodged there by the *Athenians*, and almost the whole garrison was either killed or taken prisoners. By the loss of this place, *Nicias* was also deprived of the advantage of receiving supplies of provisions; for his transport vessels could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships, which now lay at anchor under that fortress.

* A castle at the extremity of a cape of the same name, at the entrance of the harbour.

The *Syracusans* resolving on a second naval engagement, in which they hoped to be more successful than in the former, fitted out a more numerous fleet. *Nicias* however declined fighting, and observed that while they were in daily expectation of a fresh fleet, and powerful reinforcements brought by *Demosthenes*, it would be madness to hazard an engagement with an inferior number of ships, and those ill provided. But *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, elated by their new authority, resolved to perform some bold stroke, and declaring that it would be an eternal disgrace to *Athens*, should they decline fighting when the *Syracusans* dared them to battle, forced *Nicias* to engage. But that cautious commander was defeated by a stratagem formed by *Ariston*, a *Corinthian*, who commanded the vessels of *Syracuse*, by which he lost several galleys and a great number of men *. This loss threw *Nicias* into the greatest consternation. He reflected that when he had the sole command, he had been unable to keep his

* *Ariston* causing a market to be held on the strand, the *Syracusans* went on shore and dined; when the *Athenians* concluding that they were returned back to the city, immediately landed, and likewise went to dinner: on which the enemy attacked the fleet, which was unprepared for defence, while the *Athenians* were crowding on board their ships. *Rollin*.

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ground, and was now, through the obstinacy of his colleagues, in a worse state than ever.

At length *Demosthenes* appeared with a formidable fleet, for he had 73 gallies, with 5000 foot, and no less than 3000 archers and slingers on board. At this sight the *Syracusans* were driven back to their first alarms: there appeared no end or respite to their calamities, and all the toils, wounds and losses they had sustained, seemed of no service. *Nicias*, however, instantly lost the pleasure he had received from the arrival of this powerful reinforcement: for he no sooner entered into discourse with *Demosthenes*, than he found him bent upon immediately hazarding all at once, in order to take *Syracuse* by assault, and then to return to *Athens*. *Nicias*, terrified at his precipitation and temerity, strove to persuade him from it by representing that nothing could be so prejudicial to the enemy as delay; because they were in want of money, and their allies ready to forsake them; and that they would no sooner be pinched with want, than they would again sue for a capitulation: that the *Syracusans* were tired of the war, and displeased with *Gylippus*, and that when their necessities were extreme, they would surrender at discretion.

This *Nicias* represented not in plain terms, but by obscure hints, whence *Demosthenes* and the other generals imputed his advice to cowardice, and urged that he was now returning to his former affected delays, and
too

too cautious deliberations, by which he had lost the fairest opportunities of action, and suffered the ardour of his troops to cool, by deferring his enterprizes till it was too late for them to be executed. From these considerations the other generals joined with *Demosthenes*, and at last obliged *Nicias* to comply.

Demosthenes, at the head of a party of foot, made an assault upon *Epipolæ**, some of the enemy were slain before they took the alarm, and the rest who defended themselves were put to flight. Not contented with these advantages, he pushed forward, till meeting with a body of *Bæotians*, who were the first that formed, they with loud shouts attacked the *Athenians* with their spears, and threw them into disorder. Instantly the whole army was in confusion; those who stood their ground and were victorious, were encountered by those who fled, and those who were marching down from *Epipolæ* to support their companions, were repulsed by them, who took their friends for their enemies. The tumult, confusion, and distress of the *Athenians* were encreased by the impossibility of clearly discerning objects; for the moon was then just setting, and the little light she gave was in a manner rendered useless by the

* This was a hill without the walls, that commanded the city, and was defended by a body of *Syracusan* troops.

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length of the shadows; for the moon being on their backs, and their shadows before them, their numbers were hid, while the reflection of the light from the shields of the enemy, made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. The *Athenians* being thus pressed on every side, many of them were slain by the hands of the enemy, and as many by their own. Some fell headlong down the rocks, others were dispersed, and ran straggling through the fields, where they were killed the next morning by the enemy's horse. In this action the *Athenians* lost 2000 men, and very few returned with their arms.

Nicias having foreseen this disaster, loudly inveighed against *Demosthenes's* rashness: but he, after having vindicated himself in the best manner he was able, proposed to depart immediately, as they were to expect no other army, and it was impossible to beat the enemy with that they had; especially as the place at that season was unhealthy: for it was then the beginning of autumn, and many of the soldiers were sick, and all of them dispirited. *Nicias*, however, could not bear to think of embarking; for he was more afraid of the tribunals of the *Athenians* than even of the *Syracusans* themselves, and maintained, that at the worst, it was better to fall by the hands of their enemies, than by those of their fellow-citizens.

Nicias having thus declared his sentiments, *Demosthenes*, who had no reason to value himself on his former advice, did not dare to oppose them, and the other officers imagining that *Nicias* had some private intelligence which fed his hopes, submitted to his opinion. But soon after fresh forces arriving at *Syracuse*, and the contagion spreading in the *Athenian* camp, *Nicias* joined with those who were for a retreat, and gave orders, that the soldiers should prepare to embark.

When they were just ready to go on board in the dead of the night, without being observed, or even suspected by the enemy, the moon was suddenly eclipsed; which terrified *Nicias* and the whole army, who, from ignorance and superstition, were astonished at such an appearance; and, though it was never usual to abstain from action after an eclipse, above three days together, *Nicias* was for waiting another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not perceive her as clear and bright as ever the instant she had emerged from the shadow of the earth. Hence *Nicias* abandoning, in a manner, all other cares, applied himself to the offering of sacrifices, till the enemy attacked his camp, and ranged their fleet in a circle round the harbour. The *Athenians* were now insulted, not only by the men from their galleys, but even the fisher-boys in their skiffs and boats rowed up to the *Athenian* ships, challenging

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challenging them to fight, and loading them with the most contemptuous language.

At length one of these youths who was of the family of the *Heraclides*, advancing too far, was chased, and in danger of being taken by one of the *Athenian* gallies. *Pollichus* his uncle being in great pain for him, went with ten gallies to his assistance: on which those in the other gallies being as much concerned for him, as he was for his nephew, advanced to support him, and this brought on a general engagement; both sides fought with great resolution and intrepidity; but the *Syracusans* had at last the advantage, and the loss of the *Athenians* was very considerable.

The *Athenian* soldiers now losing all patience, mutinied against their officers, insisting that they should march to another part of the island: for the *Syracusans* immediately after their late victory had blocked up the entrance of the harbour. But *Nicias* would not consent: for he could not bear the thoughts of leaving many ships of burthen, and near 200 gallies to fall into the hands of the enemy. Causing therefore the flower of his infantry, and the ablest of those who fought with javelins to embark, he manned with them only an hundred and ten gallies; for the rest wanted oars. The remainder of his army he placed along the shore, abandoning his camp, and the walls that extended to the temple of *Hercules*. The *Syracusans* who

had been unable to offer their sacrifices there, now went thither with their priests and generals to present their offerings.

The *Syracusan* troops being also embarked, were told by those who had examined the entrails of the victims, that they would obtain victory and glory provided they kept on the defensive, and were not the aggressors; because *Hercules* had thus accomplished his labours. Animated by these hopes they rowed towards the *Athenians*, and the battle soon became more obstinate and bloody than any of the former. The armies who beheld it from the shore were agitated with passions no less violent than those who were actually engaged; for they had a distinct view of the engagement, which was confined to a narrow space, and of the different turns, which were many and unexpected. The *Athenians* suffered as much from their own fleet as from that of the enemy: for their ships, which were all crowded together, were heavy and unwieldy, while those of the *Syracusans* being light and swift, easily changed their situation, and attacked the *Athenians* on every side; who were also assaulted by a shower of stones, which did execution from whatever part they were discharged; these they answered only with darts and arrows, but from the swift motions of the *Syracusan* vessels, few of them could reach the mark at which they were levelled.

In short, the *Syracusans* obtained a complete victory, in which the loss of the *Athenians*

was

was exceeding great; and by this defeat their flight was cut off by sea. This cast them into such despondency, that they neither offered to repel the enemy when they approached to tow off their gallies, nor demanded their dead, thinking their want of burial a much less calamity, than their leaving their sick and wounded behind them, which they knew must soon be the case.

The *Athenians* now preparing to march away by night, *Gylippus* finding the *Syracusans* employed in sacrificing and rejoicing not only for the victory, but on account of the festival of *Hercules* which happened on the same day, was persuaded that he should not be able to make them fall upon the *Athenians* in their retreat. But while he was under this perplexity, *Hermocrates* sent some persons in whom he could confide to *Nicias*, who told him, that they came from his friends in the city, with whom he had held a secret correspondence during the whole course of the war; who had ordered them to caution him not to depart that night, because the *Syracusans* lay in ambush for him. *Nicias* fatally deceived by this stratagem, remained in his camp, and thus exposed himself to that destruction he was endeavouring to avoid. The next morning early all the difficult passes were seized by the enemy, who also broke down the bridges, seized the fords of the rivers, and posted parties of horse in the open country. The *Athenians* remained that day and the fol-

lowing night in their former situation, and no sooner began to move than they burst into the most bitter cries and lamentations; so deeply were they afflicted at the pressing want to which they themselves were reduced, and at their being obliged to leave those of their friends and companions, who, from their sickness or wounds, were unable to follow them. But amidst all the melancholy objects with which the camp abounded, none excited more compassion than *Nicias*, who was afflicted with the stone, undeservedly reduced to the last extremities, and in want of necessities, at a time when his age and infirmities demanded peculiar indulgence. Yet he now underwent with courage and patience what would be thought insupportable by those in a state of perfect health; endeavouring thus to keep alive the hopes of those under his command. The compassion raised by his present misfortunes was augmented by their calling to mind the many speeches and remonstrances he made at *Athens* to prevent their engaging in this fatal expedition. They considered him as a guiltless sufferer; and to add to their distress, their hope and confidence in the gods vanished, on their beholding a person so remarkable for his piety, involved in as deep distress as the most profligate wretch in the army. Yet *Nicias* constantly endeavoured, by his voice, his countenance, and the mildness of his behaviour,

viour, to convince them that he did not sink under his misfortunes.

During a march of eight days, tho' harraſſed, attacked, and wounded, he preſerved the body under his command, till *Demosthenes*, who, with his party followed in the rear, were ſurrounded in a ſmall village called *Polyzelia*, where he defended himſelf for ſome time with great reſolution and bravery: but at laſt finding all his efforts ineffectual, he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword. The wound however did not prove mortal, the enemy preventing it, by ruſhing in upon him, and ſeizing him.

Nicias was ſoon informed of this terrible diſaſter by ſome of the *Syracuſan* cavalry: when ſending a body of his own horſe to obtain a more perfect information, and being convinced of the truth, he ſent *Gylippus* propoſals for a truce, and deſired that the *Athenians* might be ſuffered to leave *Sicily* in ſafety, promiſing on that condition to give hoſtages for the payment of all the expences the *Syracuſans* had been at during the war. But this propoſal was rejected with inſolence and diſdain, and after ſome ſcoffs and menaces, they renewed the attack.

Nicias, tho' his troops were deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and conſtantly expoſed to the enemy, made good his retreat all that night, and the next day arrived at the river *Aſinarus*. The *Syracuſans* then ruſhing upon them, drove many of the *Athenians* into the ſtream, whither

whither others, ready to perish with thirst, had before eagerly thrown themselves, but now while they were drinking, were inhumanly massacred. This slaughter continued, till at last *Nicias* throwing himself at the feet of the *Spartan* general, cried, "O *Gylippus* !
" suffer yourself, in the midst of victory. to
" be touched with pity. Pity not me, who
" am famous from the excess of my misery ;
" but pity these unhappy *Athenians*. Reflect
" on the uncertainties of war, and forget
" not that the *Athenians*, whenever they
" were victorious over the *Spartans*, behaved
" with moderation and generosity."

Gylippus, struck with what he saw and heard, and remembering the good offices *Nicias* had done for the *Spartans*, raised him up, comforted him, and gave orders to spare the *Athenians* : but the word of command was communicated slowly, and the slain were more numerous than the prisoners.

Having assembled the captives, they adorned the tallest and most beautiful trees that grew on the banks of the river, with their arms. Then crowning themselves with garlands, dressing their own horses with the richest furniture, and cropping those of the enemy, they returned to the city, which they entered in triumph. A general assembly of the *Syracusans*, and their confederates, was immediately called, and then *Eurycles*, the orator, proposed, that the day on which *Nicias* was taken should be observed as a solemn

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Vol. IV.

NYCTAS kneeling at the Feet of GRIFFUS.

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lemn festival; that the servants of the *Athenians*, and all their allies, should be sold at a public auction; that the *Athenians* themselves, with the *Sicilians* who had embraced their party, should be sent prisoners to the quarries, except the two generals who were to suffer death.

During the passing of this decree, *Hermocrates* stood up and said, that a good use of victory was more glorious than victory itself; but at this the assembly was in an uproar. *Gylippus* then demanded that the two generals should be delivered up to him, that he might take them to *Sparta*; but the *Syracusans*, elated with their good fortune, treated him with insolence and contempt. Before this they had been disgusted at his haughtiness and austerity; and *Timæus* says, they were offended at his sordid avarice: but he does not agree with *Thucydides* and *Philistus*, in saying, that *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* were put to death; but that before the assembly was broke up, *Hermocrates* sent one of his confidants to inform them of what was passing, on which they slew themselves: but their bodies were thrown out, and for a long time lay at the door of the prison, to be viewed by all who pleased*.

The greatest part of the other *Athenian* prisoners perished in the quarries by diseases

* This happened about the 413th year before the birth of Christ.

and bad diet ; they having no other allowance but a pint of barley, and half a pint of water a day. Many who had been concealed by the soldiers, or had escaped under the character of servants, were sold for slaves, with the figure of a horse imprinted on their foreheads : but these last were soon restored to their liberty, or were treated with great tenderness and respect. Several of them were saved on account of their being able to repeat some of the verses of *Euripides*, whose muse was more esteemed in *Sicily* than in any other of the *Grecian* colonies. It is said that many of these, after their return to *Athens*, paid their acknowledgments to *Euripides*, some of them telling him they had been released from slavery, for having taught their masters such passages as they could remember out of his writings ; others observed, that when they were wandering after the fight, they were supplied with food, for repeating some of his verses.

The *Athenians*, it is said, refused to give credit to the first report of this overthrow. For an unknown person landing at the port of *Athens*, stopped at a barber's shop, and related what had happened in *Sicily*. The barber having heard him, did not stay till the stranger had told the story to others, but ran into the city, where, meeting with the archons, he publickly told them the news. This soon threw all *Athens* into confusion. On which the archons calling an assembly of the

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the people, produced the barber, who being unable to give a satisfactory account of the author, was seized as a spreader of false news, in order to inflame the minds of the people,* and was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for a long time, till at length some credible persons arriving, gave them a particular account of the full extent of their misfortune.

The END of *the* FOURTH VOLUME.





C. J. P. 10101